THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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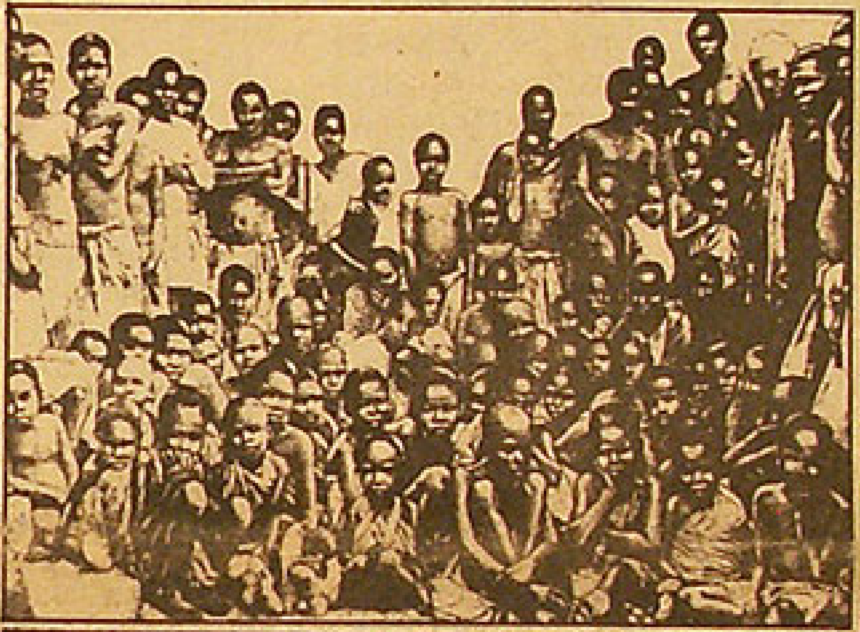
"Freedom Is A Constant Struggle"

CELEBRATE BLACK HISTORY



THOSE WHO PROFESS TO FAVOR FREEDOM AND YET DEPRECIATE AGITATION ARE MEN WHO WANT CROPS WITHOUT PLOWING UP THE GROUND. THEY WANT RAIN WITHOUT THUNDER AND LIGHTNING. THEY WANT THE OCEAN WITHOUT THE AWFUL ROAR OF ITS WATERS. THIS STRUGGLE MAY BE A MORAL ONE; OR IT MAY BE A PHYSICAL ONE; OR IT MAY BE BOTH MORAL AND PHYSICAL; BUT IT MUST BE A STRUGGLE. POWER CONCEDES NOTHING WITHOUT A DEMAND. IT NEVER DID, AND IT NEVER WILL. FIND OUT JUST WHAT PEOPLE WILL SUBMIT TO, AND YOU HAVE FOUND OUT THE EXACT AMOUNT OF INJUSTICE AND WRONG WHICH WILL BE IMPOSED UPON THEM; AND THESE WILL CONTINUE UNTIL THEY ARE RESISTED WITH EITHER WORDS OR BLOWS, OR WITH BOTH. THE LIMITS OF TYRANTS ARE PRESCRIBED BY THE ENDURANCE OF THOSE WHOM THEY OPPRESS...

FREDERICK DOUGLASS
AUGUST 4, 1857















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Editorial

WILL TO FREEDOM

It's been a long time since that fateful day in 1619 — one year before the Mayflower, and all that Pilgrim Puritan nonsense — when an unnamed Dutch Man O' War anchored off Jamestown colony, Virginia, its captain anxious to trade his cargo of 20 Africans for food. August, 1978, makes it 359 years, as a matter of fact — 359 years of bondage, some 11 generations of Afro-Americans denied the rights and liberties due all human beings, denied Freedom.

That's cold and funky, as the kids, our 12th generation, would say. *Cold* and *funky* indeed.

We've achieved, many and magnificent accomplishments, but mostly we've been set back. We've struggled, "TCB," and overcome seemingly insurmountable barriers through a determined will, but mostly we've sacrificed. We've helped each other, sharing, sheltering, providing tender loving care, but mostly we've been hurt.

Our legacy in leaders and heroes, like so much of our history, tells a tearful tale: Nat, the Prophet — hanged; Denmark Vesey — hanged; Marcus Garvey — framed, forced into exile; W.E.B. Du Bois — forced into exile; Paul Robeson — blacklisted; Richard Wright — forced into exile, death under mysterious circumstances; Malcolm X — assassinated; Dr. King — assassinated; George Jackson — assassinated; Huey P. Newton — under attack.

On it goes, the ebb and flow of our Black History. Call it Freedom, call it Liberation, call it Social Change, Call it Revolution, our History continues to be the saga of an undaunted people yearning to unite under its own control: self-determination. And even though some of us might not be able to spell it, or pronounce it, or describe it, we can all taste it, like a hungry humankind when it knows its empty belly must be fed, or surely they will die.

And we will be Free.

Why?

We Will it so...and our History will never let us forget.□



Letters to the Editor

CHICANO SUPPORT

Dear Brother Huey P. Newton,

I imagine you must get a flood of mail so I'll try to make this short. I'm a 26-year-old Brown man and the father of a six-year-old boy named Camilo. I'm also a new member of the Y.W.L.L. (Young Workers Liberation League) in the newly formed branch in Sacramento. So far, only two attractive Chicanas and myself are in it, though, we're having another meeting this Sunday. I'm not an official member of the Communist Party. If I was Black I think I would be in the Black Panther Party. I think the C.P.-USA is the best working-class, multiracial political organization around; if only because of the default of other people. However, I strongly disagree with the myopic position of the C.P. that there is no mature fascism here inside the belly of the monster! Of course, my personal position is identical to Comrade Jackson's position. We are immediately faced with a vicious, plotting and mature fascism because repression is, indeed, here now! Your present case is a classic example!

I'm presently writing an essay "On Racism Between Black and Brown People" that, with your or the BPP staff approval, I would like to have printed in your paper, THE BLACK PANTHER Intercommunal News Service. I'm convinced that the poison of racism is the major gap between Black and Brown people. If there was greater unity between these two distinct races of people there would be more positive changes happening. Have you read La Voz de Pueblo edited by Juan Lopez in a section of the People's World? I'm really interested in the column in the BLACK PANTHER called Inside Latin America every time I see a new issue. Well, here's hoping for a response from someone on the essay idea. I'll be sending it in for you or the Party's scrutiny all typed-up etc. JUSTICE FOR HUEY! OVERTURN BAKKE! POWER TO THE PEOPLE! WE WILL WIN OR DIE!

P.S. I'll send my essay in around mid-February. I'll try to make it concise, and brief.

Sincerely yours,
Peter Lopez, Jr.
1413 'V' Street
Sacramento, Calif. 95818

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Hearings Scheduled In Huey P. Newton Case

(Oakland, Calif.) - Last Wednesday's court hearing in the frame-up case against Huey P. Newton was cancelled when the Black Panther Party President was forced to remain at home due to a bout with the flu. Alameda County Superior Court Judge Martin Pulich rescheduled the hearing for Monday, February 6, at 10:30 a.m., in Department 11. A hearing on a defense motion for discovery of incriminating F.B.I. and other law enforcement agency documents filed recently by chief counsel Sheldon Otis was set for February 24, at 2:30 P.M. Pulich scheduled two other hearings on defense motions for March 3, at 9:30 a.m., and March 17 at 9:30 a.m. They will all be held in Department 11, located on the 7th floor of the Superior Court building, 1225 Fallon Street, Oakland.

COMMENT

"Of Our Spiritual Strivings"

By W.E.B. Du Bois

In tribute to the many and magnificent literary accomplishments of Black people, throughout the month of February THE BLACK PANTHER will reprint excerpts from significant documents relevant to Black History. This week, we present "Of Our Spiritual Strivings," the first chapter of W.E.B. Du Bois' classic The Souls of Black Folk, *written in 1903.*

Between me and the other world there is ever an unasked question: unasked by some through feelings of delicacy; by others through the difficulty of rightly framing it. All, nevertheless, flutter round it. They approach me in a half-hesitant sort of way, eye me curiously or compassionately, and then, instead of saying directly, How does it feel to be a problem? they say, I know an excellent colored man in my town; or, I fought at Mechanicsville; or Do not these Southern outrages make your blood boil? At these I smile, or am interested, or reduce the boiling to a simmer, as the occasion may require. To the real question, How does it feel to be a problem? I answer seldom a word.

And yet, being a problem is a strange experience — peculiar even for one who has never been anything else, save perhaps in babyhood and in Europe. It is in the early days of rollicking boyhood that the revelation first bursts upon one, all in a day, as it were. I remember well when the shadow swept across me. I was a little thing, away up in the hills of New England. In a wee wooden schoolhouse, something put it into the boys' and girls' heads to buy gorgeous visiting-cards — ten cents a package — and exchange. The exchange was merry, till one girl, a tall newcomer, refused my card — refused it peremptorily, with a glance.

Then it dawned upon me with a certain suddenness that I was

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VICTIM OF GOVERMENT SMEAR CAMPAIGN

MARCUS GARVEY: BLACK NATIONALISM UNDER ATTACK



MARCUS GARVEY

(Chicago, Ill.) - The government is being called upon to account for one of its earliest subversive campaigns against a Black leader — similar to the kind of campaign that was to be common under the FBI's COINTELPRO program of recent years.

Meeting recently in Philadelphia, the 27th International Convention of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) approved a resolution calling on the federal government to expunge the criminal record and clear the name of its founder, Marcus Mosiah Garvey.

The resolution, which may be followed by legal action, is based on evidence indicating Garvey's conviction for mail fraud was a political frame-up, another component in the campaign to destroy him and his worldwide movement.

The resolution petitions the Carter administration to "demonstrate its adherence to the principle of human rights and dignity" by correcting a great injustice perpetrated on Black people.

"We are thoroughly convinced that Garvey was framed and jailed unjustly," said Thomas W. Harvey, president general of the UNIA, at his Philadelphia headquarters. "The UNIA calls upon the U.S. government to clear Garvey's name."

In addition to solidarity appeals to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and all African heads of state, the UNIA Convention issued a second resolution demanding "that the life, works, teaching and vision of Marcus Mosiah Garvey be taught to school children in all levels of educational institutions in the world."

The Jamaican-born Garvey is called by many the patron saint of Black nationalism. His visionary ideas have exerted influence on many Black leaders throughout the world.

Founding the Universal Negro Improvement Association in 1914, Garvey headquartered the organization in Harlem when he moved to America in 1916. Garvey's program centered on the redemption of Africa — "Africa for Africans" — based on economic self-sufficiency incorporating international trade between America, the Caribbean and Africa.

"Never before and never since has there been an assembly of Black people to match the UNIA convention of 1920;" wrote author Theodore Vincent. "Delegates came from 25 countries on four continents — 2,000 all told — most of them representing the working masses of Black people."

During its prime in the 1920's, UNIA was said to have a membership in excess of a million Blacks, encompassing a broad coalition cutting across the political spectrum. The organization had 3,000 branches across the U.S., Europe, Central and South America, and throughout Africa with that continent's largest chapter being in South Africa.

Originating the tri-colored red, black and green banner, Garvey's movement bridged the economic and social gamut, encompassing grocery stores, publishing houses, the Black Star steamship line, as well as his African Orthodox Church with its theology of a Black God. Most important, Garvey instilled awareness of self.

As one historian has noted, "The cornerstone of Garvey's teaching was pride in race...pride in heritage."

The depth of Garvey's penetration into the Black masses produced a reaction of resentment in both the White and Black establishments. Addressing a session of UNIA's convention, Dr. Tony Martin detailed a government offensive against Garvey that included "all arms of government," big business and civic groups.

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The Mysterious Death Of Richard Wright

(Paris, France) - "One wintry weekend in 1961 I visited friends in Normandy. On Monday morning I returned to Paris where the concierge handed me a telegram which had arrived the night before. It was from Dick and simply said, '*Ollie please come to see me soon as you get this.*'

"It gave the name and location of a clinic I'd never heard of. Mystified, I phoned the clinic and asked to speak with Monsieur Richard Wright. I was told that it would not be possible, 'Monsieur Wright died last night!'

"After the first shock I managed to stammer a request to see him and was told that there seemed to be no reason why not. I immediately rushed to the clinic, at the seedier end of the Rue Vaugirard, where I was permitted to see the body and was told that he'd been admitted for a 'check-up' on Saturday morning.

"Sunday afternoon at about five, I was told, he rang for his nurse. When she arrived she



RICHARD WRIGHT

found that he was dead. It was the first time in more than 10 years that he'd not gone to the American Hospital (in Paris). And it was the only time he'd failed to call either me or Chester Himes!

"Once every six months Dick drove out to Neully's American Hospital for a thorough weekend checkup, pointing out that if, for example, anyone was interested in doing you in, they'd never dare it in the American Hospital," recalled Ollie Harrington, a close friend and confidant of the celebrated Black literary giant. "But he always called either Chester or me to let us know exactly when he was going in." At the time, Harrington, chief political cartoonist for the *Daily World*, recalls. "We viewed it as a minor eccentricity."

Richard Wright was the famed author of a remarkable book of short stories, *Uncle Tom's Children*; an autobiography which had become a monumental classic and reference book for a generation of sociologists, *Black Boy*; a prophetic novel, *Native Son*

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TRIBUTE TO ACHIEVEMENTS

ARCHIVES TO KEEP ALIVE SPIRIT OF PAUL ROBESON

(New York, N.Y.) - In a lasting monument to the legacy of courage of Paul Robeson, a project is being spearheaded by Paul Robeson, Jr., to collect, preserve and catalogue the valuable and tremendous amount of materials about his father as part of the Paul Robeson Archives.

As a singer, Paul Robeson had shared with the world the beauties of Black spirituals and the songs of common folk everywhere. As an actor, he had brought a dignity and depth to screen and stage that culminated in his definitive interpretation of Othello, which in the 1943-44 season set an all-time record for any Shakespearean play on Broadway.

As an athlete, "Robeson of Rutgers" had been judged by the best-known All-American team selector of the day "the greatest defensive end who ever trod the gridiron." As a scholar, he earned a law degree from Columbia University, delved deeply into African cultures, formulated musical theories based on the commonality of the world's folk music and studied 20 languages, including Swahili and Chinese.



Renowned Black activist/entertainer PAUL ROBESON surrounded by fans.

PRIME

Robeson in his prime (the twenties, thirties, early forties) was the Black man of the hour — big, powerful, open-faced and openhearted. Blessed with a magnificent bass-baritone voice, he seemed to personify the nobility of an entire people. Yet he refused to play the role the "big White folks," as he called them, assigned Black men who'd made it. He refused to shuffle and bow and parrot, "Yessy, yessy, America is the greatest country in the world. See how I made it? You can too." He never forgot the roots from which he sprang, and he never forgot that while he had "made it," the oppressed peoples of the world — whether in segregationist Mississippi, Franco Spain or apartheid South Africa — were still struggling, reports *Essence*.

Again and again, he spoke out against racism, against colonialism and against the whole capitalist system. He openly expressed his friendship toward the Soviet people who always welcomed his visits.

During the thirties when many idealistic young people were embracing socialism and during the early forties when the United States and the Soviet Union were allies, Robeson's views were tolerated. But as the forties drew to a close, the cold war set in and a man named Joseph McCarthy began looking for "reds" under every bed. Robeson's views could be tolerated no longer. But he would not retract them.

"I saw no reason my convictions should change with the weather," he declared. In 1946 he testified under oath that he was not a member of the Communist Party. But forever after, he refused to answer the question, wanting no part of McCarthyism with its terrifying attacks on freedom of speech and thoughts.

And so the self-appointed guardians of morality moved against him with a vengeance. Concert halls cancelled his bookings. Record stores removed his records. Recording studios refused him access. His name was dropped from listings of All-American athletes as well as from books on theater. Film footage on him disappeared.

In 1949 Robeson concert goers in Peekskill, New York, were pelted with rocks, their cars overturned and smashed — all courtesy of "patriotic" American Legionnaires and their racist allies. The next year the State Department took away his passport on the grounds that his travels "would not be in the interest of the United States." A prisoner in his own land — singing now only for the few Black, union and leftist groups that dared invite him — his sizeable income in 1947 dropped to $6,000 by 1952.

In 1958, following a worldwide campaign and a Supreme Court decision, Robeson's passport was finally reinstated, and he began a warmly received tour of Europe, Australia and New Zealand.

But within three years he was forced by poor health (a persistent circulatory illness) to retire from public life. On January 23, 1976, Paul Robeson died. He was 77.

When asked about the view expressed in some quarters that his father was a "tragic figure" who had allowed political naivete to destroy his career and had become disillusioned in his old age, Robeson, Jr., responded in exasperation:

"I said in the eulogy at my father's funeral, he never regretted the stands he took because he made his basic choice way back in 1937. He said then:

" 'The artist must elect to fight for freedom or for slavery. I have made my choice. I had no alternative.'

"In taking positions that were on a direct collision course with the system, he knew the price he

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This Week In Black History

February, 1859

The Arkansas state legislature passed a resolution in February, 1859, which required free Black people to choose between exile or slavery.



1960 sit-in in Greensboro, North Carolina.

February, 1960

Four students from North Carolina A & T College started a sit-in protesting segregation at a Greensboro, North Carolina, Woolworth's store on February 1, 1960. By February 10, the sit-in movement had spread to 15 Southern cities in five states.

February 6, 1961

The jail-in movement started in Rock Hill, South Carolina, when students refused to pay fines and requested jail sentences on February 6, 1961. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) urged a massive "Jail No Bail" campaign throughout the South.

February 1-4, 1965

Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and 770 others were arrested in Selma, Alabama, on February 1, 1965, during protests against racist voter registration practices. On February 4, a federal district court ordered the county board of registrars not to use extremely difficult literacy tests on voter applicants or to reject applications on petty technicalities.

February 8, 1968

On February 8, 1968, three Black students at South Carolina State College in Orangeburg, South Carolina, were shot to death by state police following a protest against the segregation of a bowling alley.



MALCOLM X lies mortally wounded on the floor of Harlem's Audubon Ballroom after being shot by Black gunmen, while NYPD cop, GENE ROBERTS, who infiltrated the OAAU to become one of Malcolm's security aides, feigns giving mouth-to-mouth resuscitation.

F.B.I., NEW YORK POLICE INVOLVEMENT RECENTLY DIVULGED

WHO KILLED MALCOLM X?

(Boston, Mass.) - What role did undercover New York and federal police agencies play in the assassination of Malcolm?

The murder of this great, charismatic Black leader and organizer 13 years ago, on February 21, 1965, has left in its wake a trail of unanswered questions.

The standing legal verdict on the assassination holds that three men, forming a conspiracy, were guilty of the act. And since two of the three were well-known Nation of Islam "enforcers," the public has been led to accept the obvious implication — that the murder was ordered, planned, and carried out solely by the Nation (when led by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, now called World Community of Islam in the West) as the culmination of that group's vendetta against its former chief spokesman.

Yet, in the last few days of his life, Malcolm told people close to him that recent events had "led him to believe that the plotters of his death were much bigger than the Muslims."

The previous summer he had been critically poisoned in the main dining room of the Cairo Hilton Hotel in Egypt. Malcolm was certain this was not the work of Elijah Muhammad; he had grounds for attributing this attempt on his life to the CIA.

Less than two weeks before his death, he was denied entry into France forever as an "undesirable person," possibly because French officials feared he would be assassinated on French soil.

Malcolm assumed that these signs of danger were the inevitable consequence of his political effort to bring international pressure to bear on the U.S. by bringing the issue of the massive violation of "human rights" of Black Americans before the United Nations.

The assassination itself and the trial that followed almost a year later produced a myriad of disturbing indications that two innocent men were convicted and that undercover agents of the New York police force and the FBI may have played an instrumental role in the case, according to a copyrighted story in Boston's *Real Paper*.

Noted attorney William Kunstler has recently submitted affidavits to a New York court intended to show that new evidence unearthed since the final appeal in the case constitutes grounds for obtaining a new trial.

One of the three men originally convicted, Thomas Hagan, has now volunteered to name four other men who acted with him in the murder. Hagan says that Thomas Johnson and Norman Butler, the two men convicted with him, are innocent.

Kunstler has submitted Hagan's affidavit along with another that includes the transcript of testimony given by police undercover agent Gene Roberts, who says he had been a bodyguard to Malcolm X and possessed crucial knowledge about Malcolm's murder which had been withheld from the original trial.

A little after three o'clock on Sunday afternoon, February 21, 1965, Malcolm X walked out onto the stage of the Audobon Ballroom on Broadway and 166th Street in Manhattan. He was showing the strain of the past few weeks, a time during which his house had been firebombed with his wife and four children in it, and he had received several warnings of imminent attempts to assassinate him.

For some time he and his friends had assumed and said publicly that "Black Muslims," under orders from Elijah Muhammad, were out to kill him.

But just before he went on stage he had told his assistants waiting with him in the anteroom offstage that he was going to tell the audience that he had been hasty to accuse the Black Muslims of bombing his home.

"Things have happened since

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"Eleanor Roosevelt's Niggers" Honored

(Miami, Fla.) - After a bitter 33-year fight, the U.S. Army's all-Black 761st Battalion, nicknamed "Eleanor Roosevelt's Niggers," has finally been awarded the Presidential Unit Citation for bravery and valor in combat.

The all-Black tank unit, commanded by two White officers, fought in the Western European campaign under General George S. Patton, smashing bloody holes in enemy lines for Allied troops to pass through.

Among the 425 tankers in the unit, 276 men were awarded Purple Hearts during the war. Thirty-six Black men died in combat; 260 were wounded. The Presidential citation gives long overdue credit to the fact that the battalion captured 30 major towns in France, Belgium and Germany in a hellish 191 consecutive days of frontline combat.



Members of the all-Black 761st Battalion of World War II fame.

The 761st Battalion got the label "Eleanor Roosevelt's Niggers," a reminder that the wife of then President Franklin D. Roosevelt had insisted Black people deserved a chance to fight in World War II. The name, meant as a racist slur, later became a source of pride for the unit.

Despite the heroism and brav-

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Marcus Garvey

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The subversion of Garvey and UNIA was classic, combining infiltrators, sabotage and sophisticated overt tactics. During the year between his indictment and trial, government agents raided UNIA offices around the country seizing records and arresting staffers. Following his imprisonment a reign of terror fell on UNIA, with members being fired, beaten, jailed and murdered.

Although hard evidence against him in the mail fraud trial was scant, Garvey received the maximum five-year sentence and was convicted on the alleged contents of an empty envelope while his co-defendants were acquitted for lack of evidence. Serving two years in Atlanta's federal prison, his sentence was commuted by President Coolidge in 1927 and he was immediately deported.

The domestic attacks on UNIA were paralleled internationally. A Liberian colony scheme was blocked by pressure from the Firestone Rubber Company. In the British colonies Garvey's publications were banned and the movements of himself and his followers were severely restricted. UNIA was repressed in the French territories and was barred from the Belgian Congo. In Rhodesia, Blacks were jailed for possession of Garvey magazines.

''An indication of Garvey's strength and power was the fact that he had the governments of the world's greatest powers on the defensive,'' noted Martin, author of *Race First*, UNIA's official Garvey text.

''The imperialists felt threatened by the idea of an emancipated Black man. If the Black man is emancipated the whole system of economic exploitation will collapse.''

UNIA faltered from the external attacks and internal dissension, both legitimate policy differences and personality clashes. Its programs also suffered from lack of technical expertise. In the 1920's UNIA was an idea before its time.

Garvey returned to Jamaica following his deportation, dabbling in politics before moving to to London. His once mighty organization crippled, Garvey remained in Britain, where he died of a stroke in 1940 at the age of 51.

One of Garvey's closest confidants, the 83-year-old Harvey said the significance of Garveyism is that UNIA sought freedom for Blacks everywhere. He says the ''prophesies of Garvey have come true.''

''Be assured that I planted well the seed of Negro or Black nationalism which cannot be destroyed even by the foul play that has been meted out to me,'' Garvey said. ''...In death I shall be terror to the foes of Negro liberty.''□

MARCUS GARVEY had ''the governments of the world's greatest powers on the defensive.''



The Mysterious Death Of Richard Wright

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which has been translated into most languages and was the first bestseller by an American Black author. *Native Son* was the beginning of a new rebellion in Black literature which emerged from the famous ''Harlem Renaissance'' of the '20's and '30's.

Wright also wrote the perceptive novel, *The Long Dream*, the second volume of which, oddly, has never been published. *American Hunger*, the dynamic sequel to *Black Boy*, was published last year.

Wright grew up in the notorious ''Deep South,'' in the state of Mississippi. In little more than 10 years, Wright had ''escaped'' to Chicago, taught himself to read and write at night while washing dishes and running errands during the day.

Wright was a prodigious reader and he never failed to credit the extraordinary 10-year leap from semi-illiterate Black serf to literary giant to his discovery of Marx, which subsequently led to his membership in the Communist Party.

However, Wright later left and bitterly denounced the Communist Party in an essay he contributed to a book by six ex-Communist Party members called *The God That Failed*.



RICHARD WRIGHT

''In the Impressionist atmosphere of a tiny Paris sidewalk cafe on the Boulevard St. Germain Des Pres one afternoon during the 1950's,'' Harrington recalls, ''Richard Wright ruminated aloud, 'Art is such a ruthless taskmaster that when the artist stumbles perhaps he pays with his life.'

''Long after that afternoon I realized that with this enigmatic statement he was offering me his complete trust. It was as if he'd opened a tiny window behind which lurked an enormous secret agony. . .and perhaps a foreboding knowledge too,'' Harrington said.

From that time Wright seemed obsessed with the idea that the FBI and the CIA were running amuck in Paris. He was thoroughly convinced that Blacks were special targets of their cloak and dagger activities and that several of his African friends with leadership possibilities were being eliminated, citing especially the case of the African surgeon with whom he'd met only a week before the man collapsed in Geneva.

POISONED

In the hospital to which he'd been taken he told doctors he was convinced that he'd been poisoned. He'd diagnosed the symptoms, identified the probable poison and prescribed the necessary treatment. Incredibly, he was treated for an ordinary stomach disorder and died in a few agonizing hours.

This period in time was long before the world press exposed the chilling record of blackmail, extortion, robbery, unexplained disappearances, torture and murders carried out by the secret armies of the FBI and the CIA.

Of all the many Americans living in France, Wright was the only one who was publicly saying these things *then*. One of his most effective efforts was an expose for the French radio in five parts which was broadcast weekly.

The fifth and last part was broadcast one week after his death — from what was diagnosed as a heart attack!□

''Eleanor Roosevelt's Niggers'' Honored

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

ery displayed by Black soldiers, it was not until after World War II that President Harry Truman, Roosevelt's successor, ended official segregation in the U.S. armed forces.

Last year, one of the two Whites who commanded the 761st, David Williams, drew attention to the hard-fighting unit by sending the Pentagon a copy of his novel, *Eleanor Roosevelt's Niggers*. A nine-month investigation followed and the unit was finally awarded its citation last week for ''extraordinary heroism in action'' during the period from October 31, 1944, to May 6, 1945.

LONG TIME

''It's taken a long time for the Army to become aware of what it was like to be a Black soldier in the 1940's,'' says Williams, ''the special kind of courage it took for the Black soldier to shrug off the second-class treatment he got and then go to fight and die.''

The battalion had asked for the Presidential Unit Citation six times between 1945 and 1976. Six times it had been denied.□

F.B.I. PLOTTED TO DISCREDIT KING'S WIDOW

(Washington, D.C.) - FBI files released last week exposed a scheme by the federal police agency to plant a news story and have a book written to discredit the widow of slain civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and others who insisted he was the victim of a conspiracy.

The over 40,000 pages of FBI files regarding the assassination of Dr. King, released under the Freedom of Information Act, also revealed that the Bureau, as late as December, 1976, was still investigating its own conspiracy theories.

At this time, it dismissed a "tip" that Dr. King's successor as head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Rev. Ralph Abernathy, had taken out a $265,000 "hit" contract on his colleague.

Additional files disclosed that then Attorney General Ramsey Clark accused the FBI of keeping him "in the dark" during its investigation of the King assassination.

The plan to discredit Mrs. Coretta Scott King followed James Earl Ray's March 11, 1969, conviction for Dr. King's murder. A memo written two days later by Cartha Deloach, a top Bureau official at the time, to J. Edgar Hoover revealed the Bureau's hostility.

"Now that Ray has been convicted," Deloach wrote, "I would like to suggest that the director (Hoover) allow us to choose a friendly, capable author, or the *Reader's Digest*, and proceed with a book based on the case."

The memo, which Hoover signed with an "O.K.," proposed that such a book would improve the FBI's tarnished image while maintaining "the true history of this case" against the attacks of conspiracy theorists.

Deloach also devised a plan for planting a news story to discredit Mrs. King and Abernathy.

"I would also suggest... advising a friendly newspaper contact, on a strictly confidential basis, that Coretta King and Rev. Abernathy are deliberately plotting to keep King's assassination in the news by pulling the ruse of maintaining that King's murder was definitely a conspiracy and not committed by one man.

"This, of course, is obviously a rank trick in order to keep the money coming to Mrs. King, Abernathy and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference," Deloach wrote. "We can do this without any attribution to the FBI and without anyone knowing that the information came from a wiretap."

The FBI files revealed that the

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DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING's widow CORETTA and four children.

F.B.I. Still Claims James Earl Ray "Acted Alone"

(Washington, D.C.) - Disregarding strong evidence that the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was ordered at the highest levels of the federal government, the FBI concluded that convicted King assassin James Earl Ray acted alone when he shot the civil rights leader to death on April 4, 1968.

FBI reports on the King murder made public under the Freedom of Information Act concluded that Ray financed his escape from Memphis to Europe through a series of petty robberies and was not bankrolled by co-conspirators.

As recently as June 27, 1974, the FBI files showed, the Bureau concluded it could find "nothing to indicate that Ray received any large sum of money from anyone. . .

"We do not know the source of even the smallest amount of money possessed by Ray," the documents continued, "but since we know him to have robbed a bank in England after fleeing to that country, it is a reasonable presumption that Ray committed robberies in the U.S. during the time he was a fugitive."

The Bureau's acceptance of the "lone nut" theory is further detailed in reports that Ray's outspoken racism and pro-Nazi feelings may have led him to kill King.

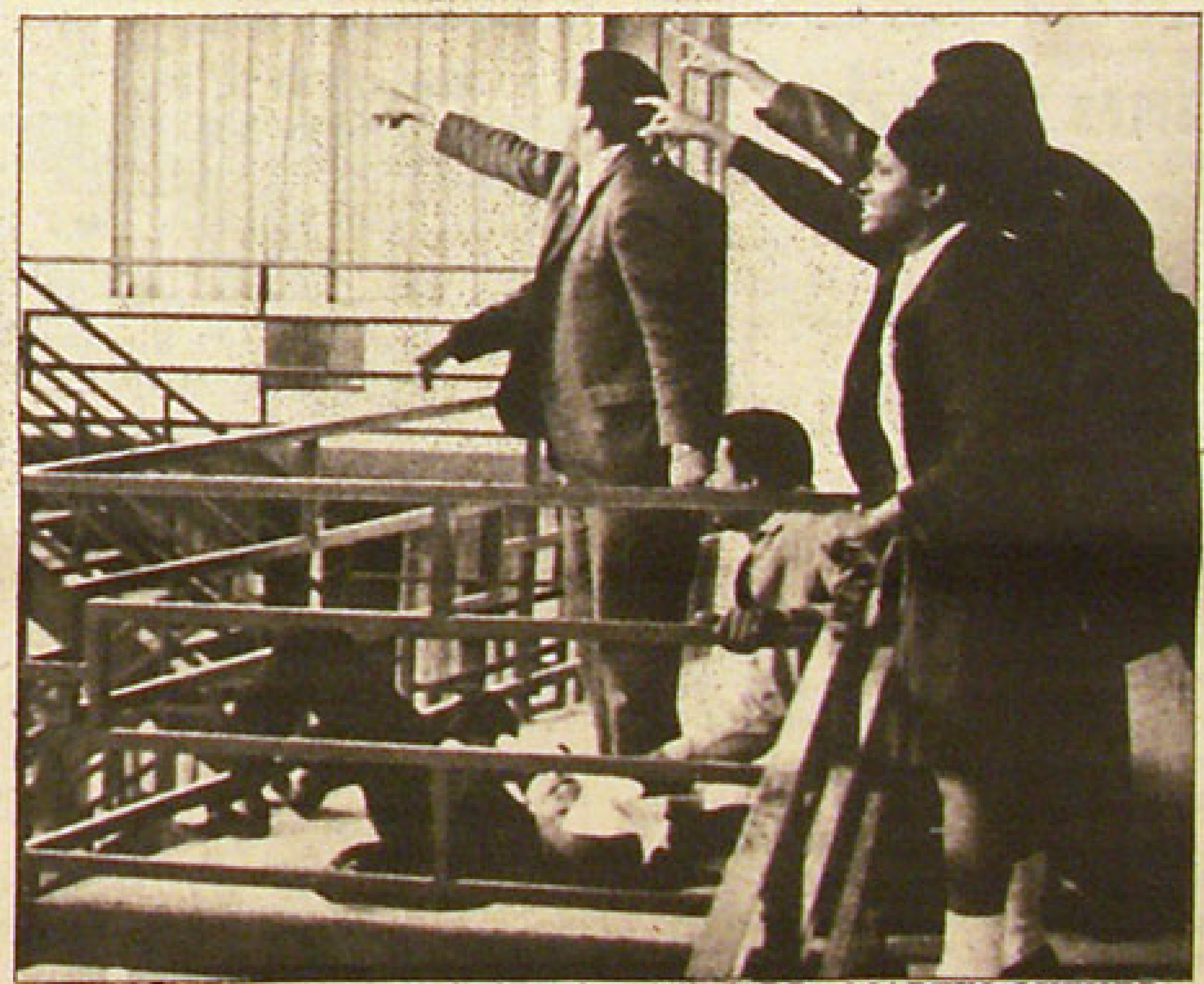
A few weeks before the Memphis assassination, Ray and a friend, Charles Stein, drove from Los Angeles to New Orleans and back. Ray, according to Stein, expressed his bitter racial feelings during the trip.

"If Negroes want to be free, they should go North or West," Stein quoted Ray. "If they stay in the South, they should be willing to be slaves."

An uncle of Ray told FBI agents that his nephew may have been influenced against Blacks and Jews by "pro-Nazis" in a Quincy, Illinois, tannery where he worked as a youth and by his Army service in Germany.

The files further described an aborted 1966 plot to kill Nobel Peace Prize winner King. A prison acquaintance of the con-

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Aides point to source of shot that killed DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. (on the ground).



Mrs. CORETTA SCOTT KING and entertainer HARRY BELAFONTE mourn at funeral of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Plot To Discredit King's Widow

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

phones of Mrs. King and those of King's followers were wiretapped even after the SCLC leader's April 4, 1968, murder.

There is no indication in the files if the book or the news article projects were ever carried out.

A memo dated December 15, 1976, sent from the FBI's Birmingham bureau to Washington headquarters described the investigation of the alleged "hit" contract put out by Abernathy.

The report said Birmingham FBI agents had just concluded several weeks checking a tip that Abernathy and an SCLC colleague, identified only as Rev. Shuttleworth, "had bought a contract for $265,000 to have Martin Luther King killed."

The Alabama agents said that the rumored motive for the "hit" was Abernathy's and Shuttleworth's belief that "King had gone soft with his nonviolence and the money coming in to SCLC and the civil rights movement had fallen off considerably. . .if he were killed he would become a martyr and money would be flowing in."

The FBI agents dismissed the tip from their informant, whom they identified as a doctor who had lost his license for narcotic abuse and had become a small-time gun dealer.

According to a memo written by Deloach, on June 8, 1968, the day of Ray's capture, Clark yelled at the FBI official over the phone:

"Who the hell do you think you're working for? I'll tell you who you're working for, you're working for the Department of Justice."

Deloach said Clark "stated that obviously he had been kept in the dark thus far and that he did not intend to put up with this in the future.

"I told the attorney general if he insisted upon making such falsifications that there was no need to continue the conversation. I then hung up the phone on him."

Despite Clark's early public statement that no conspiracy seemed likely in King's murder, the documents show that the FBI wanted fighter planes to escort Ray from England for fear of an aerial attack by persons who might have conspired with him to kill King.

Over Clark's objections, an Air Force C-135 brought Ray back to the U.S.□

James Earl Ray

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victed King assassin told the FBI that he and Ray were to receive $50,000 from unknown backers in St. Louis and Philadelphia to kill the civil rights leader.

The documents show that in September, 1968, agents obtained a deposition from the man in the Collier County Jail in Naples, Florida.

"This is how Ray explained it to me," the inmate wrote. "Some people (friends in St. Louis) fixed it with someone in Philadelphia for him to kill Martin Luther King.

"Ray told me not to worry about a thing. Also, how did a grand sum of $50,000 sound to me?

"I said great, but what if we get caught? He explained we wouldn't and if we did we would get out of it with a fixed lawyer — besides, who in the South likes niggers?"□

People's Perspective

New Abortion Regulations

(Washington, D.C.) - The Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) last week made public new abortion regulations stipulating that federal funds can only be used to terminate a pregnancy when a woman's life would be endangered, when the risk of "severe and long-lasting physical health damage" is certified, or when rape or incest results in and is reported within 60 days of pregnancy. The use of federal money for abortion was severely restricted by Congress last year. Both HEW Secretary Joseph Califano and the Congress have been under heavy fire from groups that oppose restrictions on abortion services that adversely affect poor women.

Unarmed Black Slain

(Prince George's County, Md.) - The state's attorney here is being pressured by the NAACP to seek a grand jury indictment in the case of an unarmed Black man who was recently fatally shot in the back of the head by a White cop. The incident involved William Ray, 32, who was charged with shoplifting two seven dollar hams on Christmas Eve. After escaping from the police station, Ray was senselessly shot by a White cop while running handcuffed through an alley.

Boycott J. P. Stevens

(New York, N.Y.) - The National Labor Relations Board last week filed a petition seeking a federal court injunction to restrain the giant J.P. Stevens textile company from interfering with efforts to unionize its plants. The court papers charge Stevens with longstanding unfair labor practices to impede efforts to unionize plants in Connecticut, Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina, and Virginia.

Longtime Poverty

(Washington, D.C.) - More than 35 per cent of the 3.4 million welfare families in 1975 have had to survive on public assistance five years or longer, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare reported last week. Of the 1.1 million families, 71,326 had been on welfare 20 years or more.

Joanne Little Released

(New York, N.Y.) - Joanne Little was released from Rikers Island Women's prison here on $51,000 bail this Tuesday, and is now battling to prevent her extradition to North Carolina. Ms. Little was captured in Brooklyn on December 7 after an acquaintance informed police of her whereabouts. She had been a fugitive from a North Carolina jail for seven weeks where she was serving a seven-to-10-year sentence. Ms. Little became a cause celebre when she successfully defeated murder charges stemming from her self-defense killing of a White jailer who tried to rape her.

"Supercop" Indicted

(New York, N.Y.) - State Assemblyman David P. Greenberg, a notorious ex-"supercop," was charged for corrupt activities last week in a 14-count federal grand jury indictment. Greenberg was charged with obstructing justice by urging a witness to lie to a grand jury and with overbilling a bank for repairs he supervised on two of its buildings. As a member of the so-called "Batman and Robin" police team here, Greenberg is alleged to have made over 1,000 arrests in 10 years.

Nazis Can March

(Springfield, Ill.) - The Illinois Supreme Court ruled last week that swastika-bearing Nazis have a right to march in Skokie, a predominantly Jewish suburb of Chicago, even though, village officials fear violence will result. The case will probably be appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. The American Civil Liberties Union says it lost 2,700 Illinois members because of its defense of the Nazi sect.

Jobless Benefits Dropped

(Washington, D.C.) - Nearly 300,000 unemployed workers in 41 states are being cut off of extended unemployment benefits, the Labor Department announced last week. Recipients who have been out of work over 26 weeks will be cut off from an extra 13 weeks of benefits because the government claims national unemployment fell to 6.4 per cent in December.

S. 1437

U.S. Senate Passes Repressive Crime Code

(Washington, D.C.) - Despite mounting public opposition denouncing the bill as "repressive" and "an attack on civil liberties," the U.S. Senate last Monday passed the new federal criminal code, S.1437, by a 72 to 15 vote.

Co-sponsored by senators allegedly at opposite ends of the political spectrum, liberal Ted Kennedy of Massachusetts and the late arch conservative John McClellan of Arkansas, to broaden support, S.1437, like its predecessor, the notorious Senate Bill #1 (S.1), has been the target of nationwide protests.

It now goes to the House of Representatives, where the Judiciary subcommittee will begin hearings in two weeks. The House is only using the Senate bill as a "working draft," but Senate approval this early in the session improves the prospects for final action this year.

Backers of the new code, which took 12 years to write, claim that the measure revises, modernizes and consolidates 3,000 federal criminal laws into a uniform code — the most extensive revision of criminal law in U.S. history.

S.1, the "Criminal Code Reform Act of 1975," was beaten back after a two-year fight, with widespread public clamor against the bill rising to a crescendo.

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The Black Panther Party Chapter in New Haven, Connecticut, was the target of numerous plots staged under the FBI's COINTELPRO operation.

ATTEMPTED TO DISCREDIT AND DIVIDE B.P.P., BLACKS, STUDENTS

F.B.I. SABOTAGE IN NEW HAVEN

(New Haven, Conn.) - According to a front-page article appearing in the *New Haven Register*, the Federal Bureau of Investigation sought to disrupt and divide not only the Black Panther Party Chapter here, but also New Left, anti-war groups and local grassroots Black activist organizations.

"Using informants and distributing disruptive letters, articles and flyers, sometimes anonymous and sometimes attributed to the dissident groups, the New Haven FBI office attempted to comply with national directives to 'neutralize' domestic agitators," the *Register's* Washington Bureau reports on its findings of incidents cited in the recent release of over 52,000 pages of COINTELPRO documents.

The November 23 article says that when former BPP chairman Bobby Seale languished in a Connecticut prison, held on frame-up murder charges which were later dropped, the FBI sent him an anonymous letter from San Francisco telling him he was all but forgotten.

The phony letter told Seale:

"Don't think for a minute that there isn't a reason for your sacrifice, but now that we have Huey [referring to the release from prison of BPP leader Huey P. Newton on August 5, 1970], a beautiful man, you are not as greatly needed to lead the party."

During that period, the New Haven office issued a "Panther Trial Newsletter" supposedly written by the BPP to support the Seale-Huggins trial and to be distributed on New Haven streets. Actually, leaflets depicting the BPP as anti-Christian and anti-Semetic were printed and distributed by FBI agents.

In February, 1971, the New Haven Bureau office prepared "embarassing questions" to ask Huey when he appeared on a local TV program.

Somewhat earlier, in 1969, the New Haven office sought permission to mail unsigned obscene letters to moderate Black businessmen in New Haven, Hartford and Middletown, threatening them with physical harm if they did not support the BPP.

The letter would "prod the Negro businessmen into action with the legitimate civil rights organizations and anti-BPP groups. . .and creating distrust with the BPP itself," according to the New Haven FBI office's rationale. Allegedly then FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover objected to the obscenity.

Another bogus letter, this one sent to BPP national headquarters in March, 1970, mentioned the "promiscuousness" of a certain New Haven BPP leader —

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Farm Workers End Grape, Lettuce Boycotts

(Kern County, Calif.) - Cesar Chavez announced last week that the United Farm Workers (UFW) union has officially ended its nationwide boycotts against non-union table grapes, lettuce and wines which it launched some 13 years ago as part of its battle to win the right to collective bargaining and representation for California agricultural workers by the union of their choice.

Marshall Ganz, a longtime UFW organizer, made it clear, however, that while the union is concentrating on "consolidating" the gains it has made under California's landmark Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRA), selective boycotts "will continue to be a vital part of the whole farm worker scene."

"Since last July the focus of our organization here has been on negotiations, the nuts and bolts of a union," said Eliseo Medina,



UFW leader CESAR CHAVEZ.

who heads the UFW's Coachella office.

Currently, the UFW has about 30,000 workers covered by 100 contracts, primarily in the lettuce and vegetable fields of Salinas and Imperial county areas and the grape-growing region of the San Joaquin Valley. The union has won about 250 elections under the ALRA since it went into effect in September, 1975.

The law gives agricultural workers in California the right to vote for a union of their choice and the right to collective bargaining — rights specifically denied to farm workers under the National Labor Relations Act.

The farm workers' movement to gain these rights came into national focus in March, 1966, when hundreds of campesinos and student and church group supporters launched a 300-mile march from Delano, seat of the table grape industry, to Sacramento.

Schenley, the large liquor firm that owned a substantial vineyard in Delano, was forced to formally recognize the workers and sign a contract. In the spring

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LATINO POPULATION SURGE

HISPANICS FIND NO "MELTING POT" IN U.S., ONLY POVERTY

(San Antonio, Texas) - The Hispanic "Brown tide" that continues to flood the American borders is on the verge of making this country's Latin minority the nation's largest, surpassing even the Black population.

The result, already discernible, will be a mushrooming subculture of poverty, spread through the United States like a great tree with its trunk in Texas and its branches reaching into every city of the West, Midwest and East.

For the one common denominator of the thousands of illegal immigrants who enter the U.S. daily is poverty. And as the numbers continue to swell, so does the gap between the rich and poor in America, leaving in the wake a rapidly growing Third World nation within the U.S.

The growth rate of the Hispanic minority has always been fairly staggering. The 75,000 Hispanics who were granted citizenship with the annexation of the Southwest in 1845-46 multiplied 40 times to three million by 1946, while the nation's total population multiplied only six times to 150 million.

EIGHT MILLION

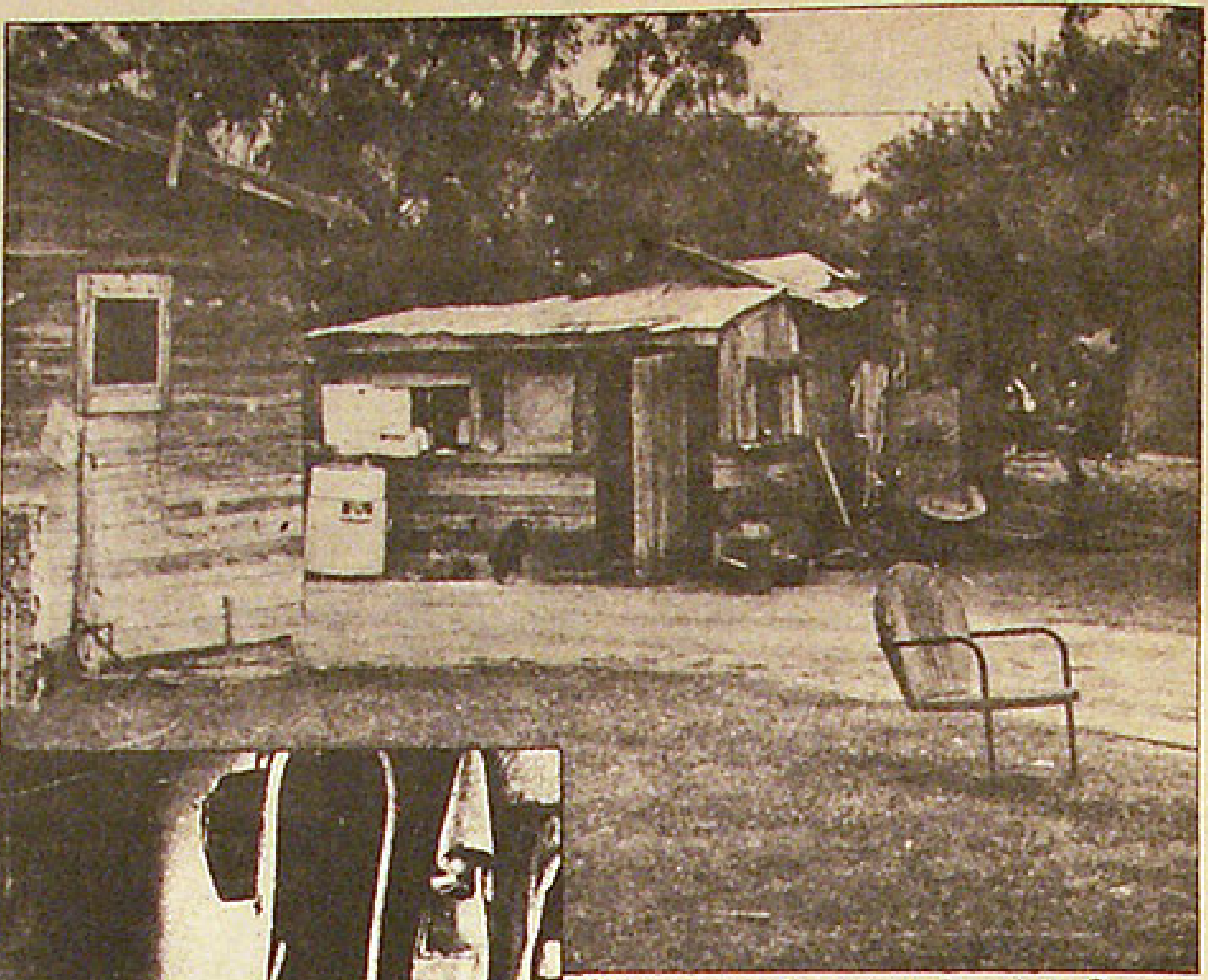
By 1963 the Hispanic population had topped eight million and today, a mere 15 years later, Hispanos are said to have doubled again, to an estimated 16 million, according to the U.S. Catholic Bishops Committee for the Spanish-Speaking.

In the same 15 years, Mexico's population jumped from 38 million to an estimated 62 million today. Present indications based on the 3.5 per cent birth rate in Mexico suggest that country's population will double again to 120 million by the year 2000, sending ever greater waves of immigrants into the U.S.

In 1975 Fernando C. de Baca, then President Ford's special assistant for Hispanic affairs, observed that the Spanish-speaking were well on their way to replacing Blacks, who number 22.6 million, as the nation's largest minority.

The implications of such growth go far beyond mere numbers. For unlike earlier waves of European immigrants, the Hispanic population has not been absorbed into the dominant Anglo culture. In large measure, it remains a culture apart, a proud if poor Latin culture weighing heavily on the bottom fringes of American society.

America's Hispanic population already exerts enormous influence throughout the U.S. Contrary to popular conceptions, the vast majority of Hispanics who are drawn to the U.S. by agricultural jobs do not remain long in the fields. Officials of the Colorado State Employment Service say it takes only three years for an undocumented agricultural worker to make the rural-to-urban transition.



Chicano settlement (above) in Crystal City, Texas. The rapidly growing Hispanic population in America has created "a mushrooming subculture of poverty" whose unemployment rate is almost twice that of the total populatio



Today, nearly 84 per cent of the Hispanic population lives in cities. By conservative estimates there are some 1.5 million undocumented workers in the New York City area, 1.3 million in Los Angeles, 415,000 in Chicago and 250,000 in San Francisco — the great majority of whom are Hispanic.

What draws them, of course, is the enormous gap they perceive between the society they flee and the one they expect to find. A sisal plantation worker in Yucatan makes $15-20 a week, while almost any worker in the U.S. can make that in a day.

Once here, they find themselves relegated through a combination of poverty and racism to the outer fringes of the social-economic scale, tipping it ever more radically out of balance by their sheer numbers.

According to the Department of Agriculture, the typical migrant worker earns $3,324 a year, his life expectancy is 49 years and his children are more than twice as likely to die at birth as those of the general population. His family's chances of catching influenza, pneumonia, tuberculosis or other infectious diseases are three times the national average.

Of the total Hispanic population in the U.S., one of every four families has an income below the federal poverty level of $5,450. One of every five Hispanic children fails to complete five years of education, and nearly 40 per cent never graduate from high school.

The unemployment rate for persons of Spanish origin is roughly twice that of the total U.S. population, and three or four times greater in some areas. In a study of the 106 largest corporations in the Chicago area, Professor Russell Barta of Mundelein College found Hispanics and Blacks "virtually absent from the upper echelons of management."

Though some gains have been made in recent years, the profile remains much as Bishop Patrick Flores describes it for Mexican-Americans, whom he divides into three classes.

The first, comprising fewer than five per cent, has succeeded in education and business and has joined the American middle class, having severed their ties with their own people.

The second class, comprising some ten per cent, include those who fought in Vietnam (where Hispanos were the most decorated ethnic group), returned home with a renewed cultural pride, continued their education and remained in the barrios where they work to improve social, educational and economic structures.

But the third class consists of 85 per cent of the people, those who were the *peones* of Mexico and who, though some have been in the U.S. for generations, have seen little or no change in their lives.

"For years and in every area," says Bishop Flores, "they have toiled under conditions and handicaps unknown to others who have been more fortunate. Not only are they not catching up, but every day they are falling further behind."

The worst off of this class are the Puerto Ricans, whose median income per family is actually falling in relation to the general population. According to the Civil Rights Commission, Puerto Rican family earnings fell from 71 per cent of the national average in 1959 to 59 per cent in 1974.

The Puerto Ricans' median family income remains several thousand dollars a year less than the Mexican-American, and almost $6,000 a year less than the general population. About one in three Puerto Ricans live below the federal poverty level. □



Congressional Black Caucus members (left to right) CHARLES DIGGS, HAROLD FORD, CHARLES RANGEL, CARDISS COLLINS, PARREN MITCHELL, WALTER FAUNTROY, LOUIS STOKES, RALPH METCALFE, RONALD DELLUMS, BARBARA JORDAN, WILLIAM CLAY, ROBERT NIX, JOHN CONYERS, YVONNE BURKE, AUGUSTUS HAWKINS, and SHIRLEY CHISHOLM.

1978 LEGISLATIVE AGENDA

"ACCELERATE PACE" TO ACHIEVE EQUALITY, SAYS CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS

"We must accelerate the pace to remove the socio-economic gap that exists between minorities, lower income persons and the rest of the nation. This is the only true test of equality, and its measure is the elimination of economic disparities."

(Washington, D.C.) - So declares the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) in its Legislative Agenda for 1978, an annual document issued by the group to "appraise the state of the nation" for Black and poor communities.

While acknowledging "incremental progress" achieved in 1977, the CBC states that "the essential problems remain the same." The 16-member group criticizes Carter's administration for "uncertainty" in monetary and fiscal direction, which "do not assure us that economic conditions will improve substantially."

The key problem areas in 1978 mentioned by the Caucus are:

• "The exceptionally high rate of unemployment which continues in the nation as a whole;

• "The disproportionate jobless rate among minorities in particular;

• "The continuing discrimination against Black persons and other minorities; and,

• "The continuing inadequacies in health, education, welfare, housing, social services and many other aspects of a decent quality of life for all of the nation's citizens."

In addition, the CBC renews its call for the President to endorse the legislation to make the birthday of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., on January 15 a national holiday.

One of the purposes of the CBC's Legislative Agenda is to specify particular bills backed by the group. In the second session of the current 95th Congress, the CBC cites the following legislation as ones meriting special interest:

FULL EMPLOYMENT

Goal: National commitment to the principles of the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Act and delineation of specific economic policies in monetary and fiscal terms and in terms of programs to address structural unemployment. The Congress must this year pass the Full Employment Act setting an interim target of no more than four per cent unemployment in five years.

Status: The Humphrey-Hawkins bill has been endorsed by the President, has 69 co-sponsors, and is expected to be acted upon by the House by March and by the Senate soon after.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY/ AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Goal: There are four clear goals in furthering equal opportunity efforts: 1) strengthen legislation protecting civil rights; 2) reorganize the federal civil rights enforcement agencies so that the machinery for enforcing the civil rights laws is more effective: 3) support affirmative action efforts and require set-asides for minorities both in legislation and by executive action; 4) defeat restrictive amendments designed to weaken the civil rights laws (such amendments have been offered to a variety of legislation in the past several years).

Status: 1) a bill to strengthen Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act was introduced at the end of 1977; 2) independently, the Office of Management and Budget has recommended to the President a plan to reorganize the federal equal employment opportunity agencies designed to strengthen the enforcement machinery in this area. The Caucus, in February, 1977, submitted firm recommendations to the President for reorganizing the equal employment agencies, and these recommendations stand as a guideline; 3) the Bakke case, which may have broad implications for affirmative action, is expected to be decided by the Supreme Court by spring; a set-aside amendment was adopted to the Public Works bill in 1977; 4) amendments restricting civil rights laws may be offered to any legislation, but most frequently have been offered to the Labor-HEW appropriations bill.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Goal: Primary aims are to bring about majority rule in South Africa and Rhodesia and provide greater economic assistance and trade benefits to the Third World Nations. The administration must commit itself to firm steps to bring about majority rule in

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Ken Cockrel Elected To Detroit City Council

(Detroit, Mich.) - On November 8, 1977, voters here elected an avowed Black Marxist to the nine-member Detroit City Council.

Attorney Ken Cockrel received 166,543 votes and finished a strong seventh in a field of 18. Cockrel ran first among nonincumbents and was the only candidate elected without UAW and Democratic Party endorsements, reports *In These Times*.

Commenting on the city power structure that opposed his campaign, Cockrel said, "The Labor/ Democratic party axis didn't want us elected and obviously don't want to see the emergence of an independent locus of political leadership inside of the city and especially inside the Black community.

"Mayor Young didn't want us in, either, because one would have to be awfully naive to imagine decisions being made as to what kind of slates are going to be drawn up by that axis without at least these being checked by Mayor Young and his operatives.

"They're threatened by our campaign and have behaved accordingly. But we have been sufficiently powerful so that they have had to be very careful about how their opposition has been expressed. They haven't been able to bait us on our Marxist or socialist politics.

"We have shown a capacity to mobilize the community in a way that isn't reproduced by the other people on the Council," says Cockrel in explaining what his efforts will be as councilperson.

"That capacity can be brought to bear on some programs to

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Attorney KEN COCKREL with youthful supporters.

"Of Our Spiritual Strivings"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

different from the others; or like, mayhap, in heart and life and longing, but shut out from their world by a vast veil.

I had thereafter no desire to tear down that veil, to creep through; I held all beyond it in common contempt, and lived above it in a region of blue sky and great wandering shadows. That sky was bluest when I could beat my mates at examination-time, or beat them at foot-race, or even beat their stringy heads.

After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world — a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world.

It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness — an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.



Writing on the "Negro problem" in America, Dr. W.E.B. Du BOIS said: "One ever feels his twoness — an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two warring ideals in one dark body. . ."

STRIFE

The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife — this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of White Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face.

Away back in the days of bondage they thought to see in one divine event the end of all doubt and disappointment; few men ever worshipped Freedom with half such unquestioning faith as did the American Negro for two centuries.

Years have passed away since then — ten, twenty, forty; forty years of national life, forty years of renewal and development, and yet the swarthy spectre sits in its accustomed seat at the Nation's feast.

The first decade was merely a prolongation of the vain search for freedom, the boon that seemed ever barely to elude their grasp — like a tantalizing will-o'-the-wisp, maddening and misleading the headless host. The holocaust of war, the terrors of the Ku Klux Klan, the lies of carpet-baggers, the disorganization of industry, and the contradictory advice of friends and foes, left the bewildered serf with no new watchword beyond the old cry for freedom.

As the time flew, however, he began to grasp a new idea. The ideal of liberty demanded for its attainment powerful means, and these the Fifteenth Amendment gave him. The ballot, which before he had looked upon as a visible sign of freedom, he now regarded as the chief means of gaining and perfecting the liberty with which war had partially endowed him. And why not? Had not votes made war and emancipated millions?

So the decade flew away, the revolution of 1876 came, and left the half-free serf weary, wondering, but still inspired. Slowly but steadily, in the following years, a new vision began gradually to replace the dream of political power — a powerful movement, the rise of another ideal to guide the unguided, another pillar of fire by night after a clouded day. It was the ideal of "book-learning"; the curiosity, born of compulsory ignorance, to know and test the power of the cabalistic letters of the White man, the longing to know.

Up the new path the advance guard toiled, slowly, heavily, doggedly; only those who have watched and guided the faltering feet, the misty minds, the dull understandings, of the dark pupils of these schools know how faithfully, how piteously, this people strove to learn. It was weary work. The cold statistician wrote down the inches of progress here and there, noted also where here and there a foot had slipped or some one had fallen.

But the facing of so vast a prejudice could not but bring the inevitable self-questioning, self-disparagement, and lowering of ideals which ever accompany repression and breed in an atmosphere of contempt and hate. Whisperings and portents came borne upon the four winds: Lo! we are diseased and dying, cried the dark hosts; we cannot write, our voting is vain; what need of education, since we must always cook and serve?

And the Nation echoed and enforced this self-criticism, saying: Be content to be servants, and nothing more; what need of higher culture for half-men? Away with the Black man's ballot, by force or fraud — and behold the suicide of a race! Nevertheless, out of the evil came something of good — the more careful adjustment of education to real life, the clearer perception of the Negroes' social responsibilities, and the sobering realization of the meaning of progress.

So dawned the time of *Sturm und Drang*: storm and stress today rocks our little boat on the mad waters of the world-sea; there is within and without the sound of conflict, the burning of body and rending of soul; inspiration strives with doubt, and faith with vain questionings. The bright ideals of the past — physical freedom, political power, the training of brains and the training of hands — all these in turn have waxed and waned, until even the last grows dim and overcast. Are they all wrong — all false?

OVERSIMPLE

No, not that, but each alone was oversimple and incomplete — the dreams of a credulous race-childhood, or the fond imaginings of the other world which does not know and does not want to know our power. To be really true, all these ideals must be melted and welded into one. The training of the schools we need today more than ever — the training of deft hands, quick eyes and ears, and above all the broader, deeper, higher culture of gifted minds and pure hearts. The power shall save us from a second slavery? Freedom, too, the long-sought, we still seek — the freedom of life and limb, the freedom to work and think, the freedom to love and aspire. Work, culture, liberty — all these we need, not singly but together, not successively but together, each growing and aiding each, and all striving toward that vast ideal that swims before the Negro people, the idea of human brotherhood, gained through the unifying ideal of Race.

We the darker ones come even now not altogether empty-handed: there are today no truer exponents of the pure human spirit of the Declaration of Independence than the American Negroes; there is no true American music but the wild sweet melodies of the Negro slave; the American fairy tales and folk-lore are Indian and African; and in all, we Black men seem the sole oasis of simple faith and reverence in a dusty desert of dollars and smartness.

Merely a concrete test of the underlying principles of the great republic is the Negro Problem, and the spiritual striving of the freedmen's sons is the travail of souls whose burden is almost beyond the measure of their strength, but who bear it in the name of an historic race, in the name of this the land of their fathers' fathers, and in the name of human opportunity. □

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

Huey P. Newton

"China"

Black Panther Party founder and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton continues with his description of his trip to the People's Republic of China in late 1971 in this section of the chapter "China" from Revolutionary Suicide. *To him, it was an amazing feeling to be in a liberated country where the police actually protected the people.*

It was not implausible that the authorities might place a federal hold on me, claiming illegal flight. By flying from New York to Canada I was able to avoid federal jurisdiction, and once in Canada I caught a plane to Tokyo. Police agents knew of my intentions and they followed me all the way — right to the Chinese border. Two comrades, Elaine Brown and Robert Bay, went with me.

NO DOUBT

I have no doubt that we were allowed to go only because the police believed we were not coming back. If they had known I had intended to return, they probably would have done everything possible to prevent the trip. The Chinese government understood this, and while I was in China, they offered me political asylum, but I told them I had to return, that my struggle is in the United States of America.

Going through the immigration and customs services of the imperialist nations was the same dehumanizing experience we had come to expect as part of our daily life in the United States. In Canada, Tokyo, and Hong Kong they took everything out of our bags and searched them completely. In Tokyo and Hong Kong we were even subjected to a skin search.

I thought I had left that routine behind in the California Penal Colony, but I know that the penitentiary is only one kind of captivity within the larger prison of a racist society. When we arrived at the free territory, where security is supposed to be so tight and everyone suspect, the comrades with the red stars on their hats asked us for our passports.

Seeing they were in order, they simply bowed and asked us if the luggage was ours. When we said yes, they replied, "You have just passed customs." They did not open our bags when we arrived or when we left.

As we crossed into China the border guards held their automatic rifles in the air as a signal of welcome and wellwishing. The Chinese truly live by the slogan "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," and their behavior constantly reminds you of that. For the first time I did not feel threatened by a uniformed person with a weapon; the soldiers were there to protect the citizenry.

The Chinese were disappointed that we had only ten days to spend with them and wanted us to stay longer, but I had to be back for the start of my third trial. Still, much was accomplished in that short time, traveling to various parts of the country, visiting factories, schools, and communes.

Everywhere we went, large groups of people greeted us with applause, and we applauded them in return. It was beautiful. At every airport thousands of people welcomed us, applauding, waving their *Little Red Books*, and carrying signs that read WE SUPPORT THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY,- DOWN WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM, or WE SUPPORT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE BUT THE NIXON IMPERIALIST REGIME MUST BE OVERTHROWN.

We also visited as many embassies as possible. Sightseeing took second place to Black Panther business and our desire to talk with revolutionary brothers, so the Chinese arranged for us to meet the ambassadors of various countries. The North Korean ambassador gave us a sumptuous dinner and showed films of his country.

We also met the ambassador from Tanzania, a fine comrade, as well as delegations from North Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. We missed the Cuban and Albanian embassies because we were short of time.

When news of our trip reached the rest of the world, widespread attention focused on it, and the press was constantly after us to find out why we had come. They were wondering if we sought to spoil Nixon's visit since we were so strongly opposed to his reactionary regime.

HARASSED

Much of the time we were harassed by reporters. One evening a Canadian reporter would not leave my table despite my asking him several times. He insisted on hanging around, questioning us, even though we had made it plain we had nothing to say to him. I finally became disgusted with his persistence and ordered him to leave.

Seconds later, the Chinese comrades arrived with the police and asked if I wanted him arrested. I said no, I only wanted him to leave my table. After that we stayed in a protected villa with a Red Army honor guard outside. This was another strange sensation — to have the police on our side.

We had been promised an opportunity to meet Chairman Mao, but the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party felt this would not be appropriate since I was not a head of state. But we did have two meetings with Premier Chou En-lai.

One of them lasted two hours and included a number of other foreign visitors; the other was a six-hour private meeting with Premier Chou and Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, the wife of Chairman Mao. We discussed world afffairs, oppressed people in general, and Black people in particular.

On National Day, October 1, we attended a large reception in the Great Hall of the People with Premier Chou En-lai and comrades from Mozambique, North Korea, North Vietnam, and the *Provisional Government of South Vietnam*.

Normally, Chairman Mao's appearance is the crowning event of the most important Chinese celebration, but this year the Chairman did not make an appearance. When we entered the hall, a band was playing the *Internationale*, and we shared tables with the head of Peking University, the head of the North Korean Army, and Comrade Chiang Ch'ing, Mao's wife. We felt it was a great privilege.

TO BE CONTINUED



HUEY P. NEWTON talks with Chinese schoolchildren.







BPINS photos

Scenes from Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow: *(A) RICHARD LITTLEJOHN sings the "blues" about slavery; (B) Children in Mr. Leadbottom's class; (C) The "Greenies" are stopped from escaping in "Time Future"; (D) The "Glutters" sing "Glut On"; (E) Beating of a slave; (F) "Hit The Road Jack And Don't You Come Back No More"; and (G) DONALD's parents explain the importance of education.*

Oakland Community School Presents "Yesterday, Today And Tomorrow"

SUPERB PLAY EXAMINES IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION

(Oakland, Calif.) - The importance of education for changing the lives of oppressed people was the theme of an outstanding play performed last Sunday by the children of the Oakland Community School (OCS) entitled *Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow*.

The central character in the play was a Black youth named Donald, portrayed by 11-year-old Donald Simpson. As the play opened, Donald and his fellow students were sitting in class with their teacher, Mr. Leadbottom. Leadbottom, played by eight-year-old Michael Napier, was attempting to convince the children that people will live better in the future.

Donald interrupted and explained that his father had not had a job for two years and asked how can life be better in the future if people don't have jobs.

Later, at home, when Donald showed his mother and father, played by 10-year-old Jessica Davis-Newton and 10-year-old Derek Hudson, his bad report card, they told him that he must do well in school so that he can get a job. A disgruntled Donald exploded, "Nothing will change. I think it's all a bunch of baloney!"

When Donald went to sleep that night, the three visitors of time — Past, Present and Future — entered his room and took him on revealing journeys into their respective time periods.

Going into the past, Donald saw the degradation and horrors of slavery. "I didn't know it was this bad," he said to Time Past.

The Blues is a form of music developed by Black Americans that has its roots in slavery. Eleven-year-old Richard Littlejohn next sang a soulful blues song about life as a slave, "My life is miserable, one I didn't choose."

As Time Past left Donald, warning him to "remember what you have learned," Time Present appeared. The scene switched to Donald's mother and father, providing Donald with some insight into how his father's constant unemployment has caused problems in his parents' marriage.

His mother was trying to awaken his weary father for another one of his endless job interviews. When he wouldn't get up,



Donald's mother told her husband that he was "no good," and began to sing, "Hit The Road Jack And Don't You Come Back No More."

Donald was terribly upset by the scene and attempted to reconcile his mother and father but he could not be seen by them because he was with Time Present. There is always hope, however, as expressed by Damon Jackson who sang a mellow rendition of a song made popular by the Jackson 5, "I'll Be There."

Returning to his room, Donald was joined by Time Future. The world of the future is a joyless world, a world with no love or freedom, from which the slaves called "Greenies" continually try to escape.

Donald's last trip into time convinced him that he must stay in school to prepare himself for the future, and help to make the world a better place.

Ronnie Brooks, Kevin Keyes and Christavia Burks then concluded the program with an hilarious take-off on the popular song performed by the Floaters, "Float On." As the "Glutters," the young trio, dressed as "Kool Aid," "Barbecue" and "Donut," sang "Glut On."

The love that the children of the Oakland Community School have for their school and their clear understanding of the importance of education for Black and oppressed people made *Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* the outstanding performance that it was. □

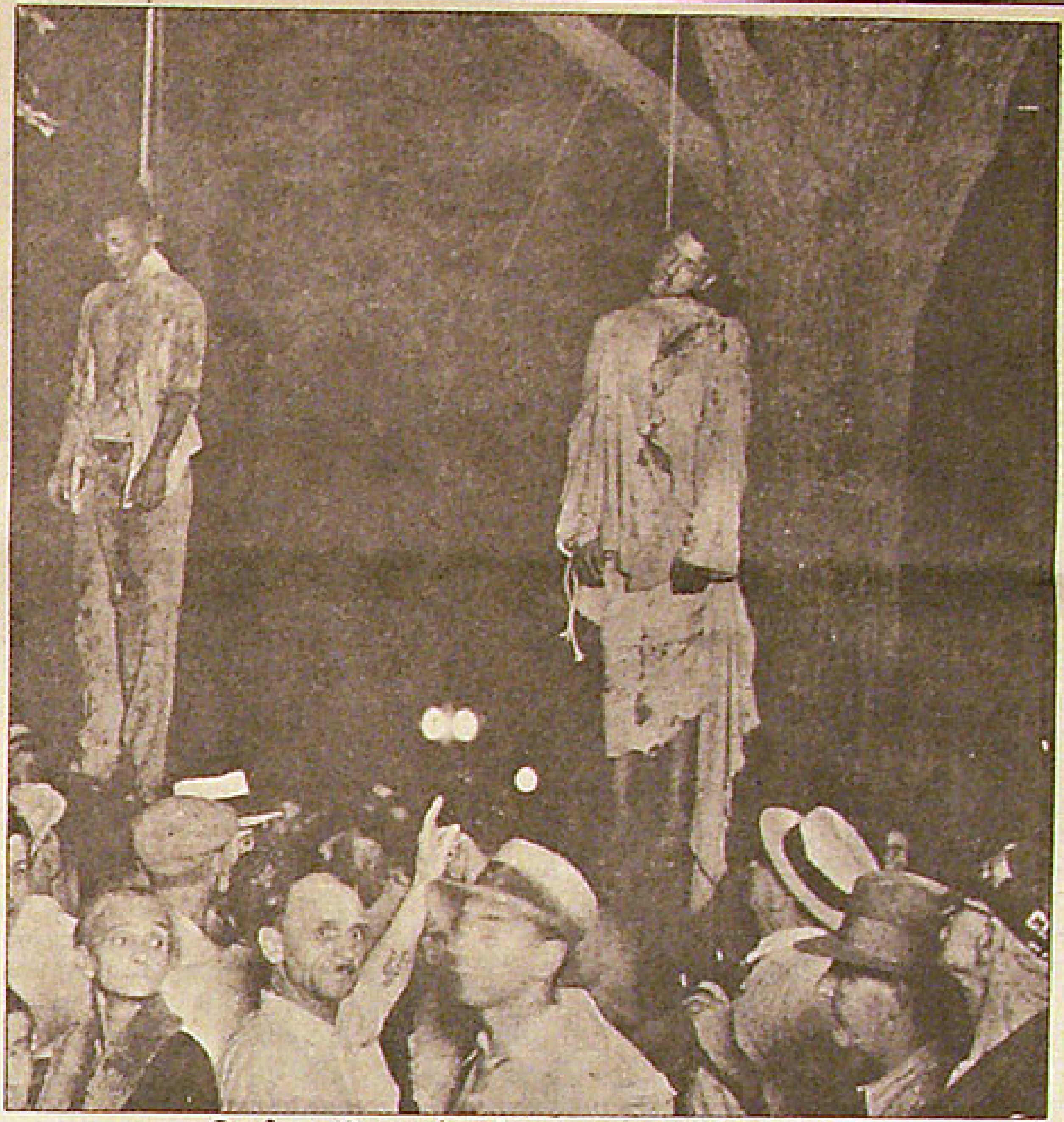
















Grim Statistics: 1882 -1962

LYNCHING IN AMERICA

Year	Blacks	Whites	Homicides	Felonious Assault	Rape	Attempted Rape	Robbery and Theft	Insult to White Persons	All Other Causes	Total
1882	49	64	54	0	33	0	16	0	10	113
1883	53	77	71	0	24	3	4	0	28	130
1884	51	160	62	0	36	0	10	0	103	211
1885	74	110	91	2	28	0	1	0	62	184
1886	74	64	70	1	32	0	8	0	27	138
1887	70	50	54	0	41	0	6	0	19	120
1888	69	68	62	0	31	0	3	4	37	137
1889	94	76	73	1	34	6	10	1	45	170
1890	85	11	35	0	31	2	5	0	23	96
1891	113	71	58	14	39	2	12	0	58	184
1892	161	69	93	3	49	12	15	1	57	230
1893	118	34	60	2	34	4	8	2	42	152
1894	134	58	75	1	37	12	5	1	61	192
1895	113	66	68	0	34	13	7	0	57	179
1896	78	45	39	6	35	6	6	0	31	123
1897	123	35	67	2	26	9	14	2	38	158
1898	101	19	68	7	15	6	8	2	14	120
1899	85	21	43	2	17	9	7	1	27	106
1900	106	9	43	5	21	16	7	1	22	115
1901	105	25	51	7	17	8	10	0	37	130
1902	85	7	37	6	18	12	2	0	17	92
1903	84	15	50	7	15	8	0	1	18	99
1904	76	7	37	1	15	7	0	2	21	83
1905	57	5	32	3	11	7	2	0	7	62
1906	62	3	25	7	16	10	2	1	4	65
1907	58	2	16	7	12	12	4	1	8	60
1908	89	8	35	8	15	14	3	1	21	97
1909	69	13	46	5	14	5	3	4	5	82
1910	67	9	41	3	18	5	4	2	3	76
1911	60	7	36	3	6	7	3	4	8	67
1912	61	2	34	2	11	3	4	3	6	63
1913	51	1	25	4	7	3	1	1	11	52
1914	51	4	31	9	6	1	2	1	5	55
1915	56	13	27	9	11	6	9	3	4	69
1916	50	4	21	7	3	9	8	2	4	54
1917	36	2	7	3	7	6	1	6	8	38
1918	60	4	27	3	10	6	5	2	11	64
1919	76	7	29	8	9	10	1	7	19	83
1920	53	8	23	9	15	3	0	3	8	61
1921	59	5	19	8	16	3	0	3	15	64
1922	51	6	15	5	14	5	4	2	12	57
1923	29	4	5	5	6	1	1	2	13	33

Year	Blacks	Whites	Homicides	Felonious Assault	Rape	Attempted Rape	Robbery and Theft	Insult to White Persons	All Other Causes	Total
1924	16	0	4	2	5	2	0	3	0	16
1925	17	0	8	1	4	2	0	1	1	17
1926	23	7	13	3	2	3	1	1	7	30
1927	16	0	7	2	2	3	0	0	2	16
1928	10	1	5	2	3	0	0	0	1	11
1929	7	3	1	3	3	0	0	2	1	10
1930	20	1	5	0	8	2	3	0	3	21
1931	12	1	5	3	0	5	0	0	0	13
1932	6	2	1	2	1	1	0	1	2	8
1933	24	4	8	4	3	3	1	1	8	28
1934	15	0	2	2	2	4	1	3	1	15
1935	18	2	8	1	3	3	0	1	4	20
1936	8	0	1	0	3	3	0	1	0	8
1937	8	0	4	2	1	0	1	0	0	8
1938	6	0	3	0	1	0	0	1	1	6
1939	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
1940	4	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	5
1941	4	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	4
1942	6	0	1	1	0	3	0	0	1	6
1943	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	3
1944	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
1945	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
1946	6	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	3	6
1947	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
1948	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
1949	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
1950	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
1951	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
1952	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1953	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1954	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1955	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3
1956	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1957	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
1958	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1959	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
1962	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	3,442	1,294	1,937	205	911	288	232	85	1,078	TOTAL 4,736

THESE FIGURES ONLY REFLECT RECORDED LYNCHINGS.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of *over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest* demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

TRAIL OF VIOLENCE IN LATE '60's

F.B.I.'S MEXICAN COINTELPRO PLAN REVEALED

(Mexico City, Mexico) - The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) conducted an intense campaign of violence, harassment and disruption against activists in Mexico, recently released FBI files have shown.

The Bureau's Mexican activities were similar to the notorious COINTELPRO operations in the U.S., directed against militant Black groups, the antiwar movement and other so-called "subversive" activities. In Mexico, the FBI organized and fomented bombings, shootings, and murder attempts. Bureau agents also worked closely with the U.S. border cops, against both Mexican and Chicano activists.

The campaign was carried out with the collaboration and tacit support of the Mexican government.

The FBI's disruption campaign was the subject of a recent four-part series in the Mexico City daily paper *Excelsior*. The articles were based on FBI files disclosed through the Freedom of Information Act. Virtually none of the files' contents on Mexico has been reported in U.S media, the *Militant* reports.

Excelsior reported that the FBI's activities were stepped up between 1967 and 1970, a period marked by the rise of mass struggles in Mexico.

Many of the documents described by *Excelsior* were confidential memos from then FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to the "legal attache" of the American embassy in Mexico City. The "legal attache" in most American embassies, according to former CIA agent turned Marxist Philip Agee, is in reality the head of the local FBI operation.

Hoover continually stressed that the Bureau's Mexican activities were to be kept top secret — obviously to cover the fact that the FBI, supposedly "restricted" to domestic surveillance, actually carries out illegal operations abroad.

In 1967, *Excelsior* reported, Hoover sent instructions to the FBI in Mexico City to prepare a plan for disrupting "subversive" student groups.

Later in 1967, the FBI head in Mexico's capital received congratulations from Hoover. The chief was "pleased by the wave of nighttime machine gunnings to divide subversive leaders."

These shootings bear remarkable similarity to plans carried out by the FBI in the U.S. to provoke disputes between Black groups that could lead to violence. The Black Panther Party was a prime target of such tactics.

Hoover also congratulated the "legal attache" in Mexico City for the "effective and strategic detonation of bombs" that the FBI had arranged or provoked.

In 1968, according to *Excelsior*, "the terrorist activity of the FBI was intensified as part of a broadening of counterintelligence operations."

Meanwhile, in Mexico, a powerful movement of students and working people demanding release of political prisoners had arisen. The movement frightened

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22



Three of the hundreds of victims of the October 2, 1968, army attack on a student demonstration in Tlatelolco Plaza in Mexico City.

INVESTMENTS RISK

South African Economy Faltering

(New York, N.Y.) - After more than a year and a half of school boycotts, demonstrations and daily clashes between angry Blacks and police, bombs and arson have also become an acknowledged element of daily life in South Africa. Reports in the South African press are telling: "Cape Bombing"; "Pamphlet Bombs Explode in City"; "Blast Outside Johannesburg Police Station"; "Blast in Train, Guard Hurt"; "Bomb Blast at Carlton."

The last three headlines all hit the newsstands during a single week. In the first two weeks of December, four bombing attacks were reported in the Johannesburg area alone. With such episodes now a standard part of the political landscape, the question addressed with increasing candor by the captains of South African government and industry is how the once-proud economy can hold up.

"The insurance industry and the government have had high-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24



Blacks protest against apartheid.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE ASSASSINATION OF AMILCAR CABRAL

January 20, 1978, marked the fifth anniversary of the tragic assassination of Amilcar Cabral, founder and Secretary-General of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), the first of Portugal's three major African colonies to achieve liberation after over 400 years of colonial repression. The following is Part 1 of a fascinating account of Cabral's assassination, reprinted from Cuba's Tricontinental *magazine.*

PART 1

"Cabral is a man who can't be bought or tricked, you'll have to kill him to get him," General Antonio Spinola, then governor of Guinea-Bissau, is alleged to have said in the office of Marcelo Caetano, Portuguese Prime Minister at the time [in 1976].

Amilcar Cabral's death was sealed in Lisbon that day. The guerrilla offensive in the three African colonies was winning important gains. In several strategic areas of Guinea and Mozambique, the colonial troops holed up in their garrisons dared not go out to launch operations. This state of affairs began to be reflected in the international press and the [Lisbon] government was terrified. Lisbon's "credibility" with its NATO allies, who provided massive aid for continuing its colonial wars in Africa, was being weakened.

The mediocre economist and dictator, Marcelo Caetano, needed a dazzling action — which could not be the "military reconquest" of Guinea-Bissau since General Spinola had amply proven that this alternative was impossible. And so the Lisbon prime minister decided to call on the good offices of his sinister Portuguese political police, the PIDE-DGS.

Then began a strange ballet in which not only Portuguese but also German and Italian secret services were implicated; a tale so complicated that it could only be reconstructed with difficulty when, after the Lisbon spring, it was possible to gain access to certain documents jealously guarded in the files of the PIDE-DGS.

To clarify the facts, let us state quickly that the PIDE-DGS Director General, Fernando Eduardo da Silva Pais, after several meetings with Marcelo Caetano, decided to entrust "the Cabral case" to his associate, subdirector Barbieri Cardoso. Now,



PAIGC founder AMILCAR CABRAL, leader of the movement to liberate Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands after 400 years of Portuguese colonial rule.

Barbieri Cardoso is that man who, in 1965 organized the kidnapping and assassination of General Humberto Delgado, former candidate in the presidential elections and recognized leader of the opposition to the regime of Oliveira de Salazar.

The similarities between the Delgado case and the Cabral case do not end there. Cabral, like Delgado, was not to be assassinated but rather kidnapped. The reasons will become clear later on.

Barbieri Cardoso, who entered the PIDE in 1948, had been named subdirector in 1963. Between 1965-1966 he became intelligence director for the "overseas territories," that is, the African colonies. He had offices in Bissau and in Luanda, which he visited on rare occasions. Barbieri Cardoso travelled a great deal in Europe, particularly in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), France and Italy.

Ernesto Lopes Ramos was Cardoso's closest collaborator. He worked in Bonn and was concerned with Angola and Guinea-Bissau. This situation is only apparently absurd, if one considers that throughout his stay in that capital up to 1973, his telephone number was 353-836, the number of one of the lines of the Bundes Nachriechten Dienst (BND), West Germany's counterespionage service.

The preoccupying details accumulate:

1970-In February, a bomb hidden in a false book had killed Eduardo Mondlane, president of the Mozambique Liberation Front [FRELIMO]. The disguised package was sent from East Germany. Barbieri Cardoso and his collaborators seem to be clever at this kind of act.

November of 1970 - As a high official of the PIDE, Barbieri Cardoso had control over the "special groups" of the Portuguese army, African shock troops, ideologically trained for the political police. The subdirector of the PIDE-DGS participated in the development of plans for the invasion of Conakry [the capital of the Republic of Guinea] on November 22. To the army, he was Major Almeida Bruno, close collaborator of General Spinola, who perfected the details of the invasion in which various opponents of Sekou Toure's regime participated.

The operation carried out against Sekou Toure's regime was of obvious interest to Portugal. Guinea represented the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

Africa In Focus

Zimbabwe

(Peking, China) - The leaders of the Patriotic Front have re-emphasized their determination to continue the armed struggle against the Ian Smith regime and destroy its so-called "internal settlement." Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo attended a meeting last month of the Front's Coordinating Committee in Maputo, Mozambique, *New China* news agency reports. At a press conference held at the conclusion of the meeting, Mugabe declared that the Patriotic Front is the sole legitimate representative of the Zimbabwean people and that the "internal settlement" is invalid.

Mozambique

(Maputo, Mozambique) - The crime rate has dropped drastically in this capital city since Mozambique won independence from Portugal on June 25, 1975, the *Daily News* of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, reports. The director of the Criminal Investigation police here, Raposo Pereira, told the *News* that crime statistics for the years 1975, 1976 and 1977 were significantly lower than those for 1973, when the country was still under Portuguese rule. Since February, 1977, there has been only one murder in the capital, whose population is 800,000. Pereira credited "the vigilance of the people" with reducing crime.

South Africa

(United Nations, N.Y.) - White exiled South African newspaper editor Donald Woods addressed the United Nations Security Council here last week, calling on the Western powers to take "effective punitive measures" against South Africa in order to bring an end to the apartheid system. Woods was invited to address the 15-nation Council at the beginning of its debate on South Africa. The 44-year-old journalist said that the West must cut the flow of cash, trade and oil to the apartheid regime in order to isolate the country from the rest of the world. "Effective measures...must be sufficiently severe to bring the Pretoria regime to its senses, or certain tragedy will overtake the people of South Africa," Woods declared.

Zimbabwean Students Expelled From U.S. College

The following article, written by Sister Janice MacLaughlin of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, is excerpted from the Daily News *of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Sister MacLaughlin was a Roman Catholic missionary in Rhodesia until last summer when she was arrested and later expelled from the country for her support of the armed liberation struggle against the Ian Smith regime.*

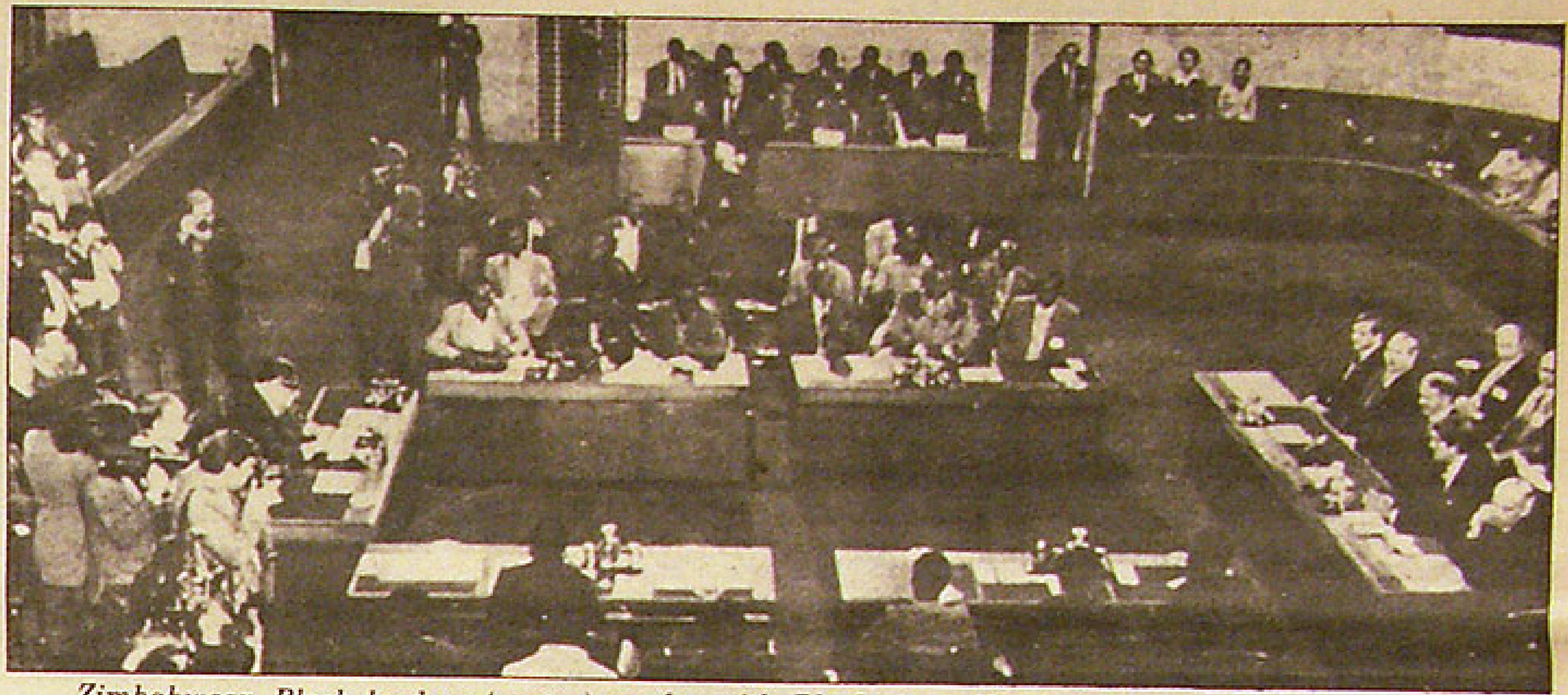
(Pittsburgh, Pa.) - Zimbabwean students who protested against the political nature of a management training program they were attending at Pittsburgh's Carnegie-Mellon University were expelled from the school on December 9.

They were told to report to immigration authorities on January 3.

The "Zimbabwe Eight" — as they have become known— were among 25 students recruited in Zimbabwe in July, 1977, to participate in Carnegie-Mellon's "Rhodesia Project" which was presented as "purely" academic and "non-political."

After they arrived in Pittsburgh in late August, however, CMU issued a series of press statements which the students say "have farreaching political connotations."

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Zimbabwean Black leaders (center) confer with Rhodesian officials (right) during aborted 1976 Geneva talks.

TALKS WITH U.S., BRITAIN FAIL

PATRIOTIC FRONT REJECTS NEW RHODESIAN PLAN

(Rabat, Malta) - The leaders of the Patriotic Front last Monday rejected the latest U.S.-British peace plan for bringing Black majority rule to Rhodesia.

U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Andrew Young and British Foreign Secretary David Owen, following talks on this Mediterranean island with Front co-leaders Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, announced that they had failed to shift the two guerrilla leaders.

"The divisions are on important issues," Young told reporters after a two-hour morning conference held on January 30.

Meanwhile, in Salisbury, Rhodesia, the White minority government's "internal settlement" suffered a setback when Bishop Abel Muzorewa walked out of talks with "Prime Minister" Ian Smith. Muzorewa accused White officials of using "abusive language" against him.

According to British delegates to the Malta talks, the Anglo-American plan was rejected by the Patriotic Front because of provisions giving administrator-designate Lord Carver powers to (1) oversee the transition period; (2) head the police and command the national army; and (3) supervise "one man, one vote" elections.

The Front also rejected provisions concerning the length and control of a ceasefire between its armed freedom fighters and Rhodesian government troops and arrangements for a six-month transition to Black-ruled Zimbabwe.

The Front, comprised of an estimated 20,000 guerrillas based inside and outside Rhodesia, is demanding that it be designated to take over power from the Smith regime and lead the country to Black majority rule.

Speaking at a press conference in Maputo, Mozambique, following pre-Malta talks with Nkomo, Mugabe said there would be no ceasefire in Rhodesia until there is a "political change which goes with the full transference of power as defined by us (the Patriotic Front)."

"We are stepping up our war in gradual stages, not necessarily because of Malta but because this is the planned strategy. Our war goes on," declared the veteran freedom fighter, who serves as secretary-general of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU).

Muzorewa's walkout from the Salisbury talks came the day after he, two other Black puppet leaders and Smith announced they had agreed to form an interim government by the end of 1978. The sellout agreement was reached after eight weeks of talks.

Under the plan devised by Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, Chief Jeremiah Chirau, Muzorewa and Smith, the four men would head a "Council of State" that would oversee the transition government. The existing White minority governmental machinery and

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MUGABE—"VICTORY IN 1978"

Z.I.P.A. Destroys Key Rhodesian Air Base

(Maputo, Mozambique) - Liberation forces of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) recently launched a successful attack on a key enemy military air base in Rhodesia, killing and wounding 400 enemy troops and capturing numerous aircraft, armored cars, trucks and fuel tanks.

Grand Reef military base, located in eastern Rhodesia near the border with Mozambique, had served as a center for the Rhodesian Army's attacks against the Zimbabwean people living in the semi-liberated areas in eastern Rhodesia.

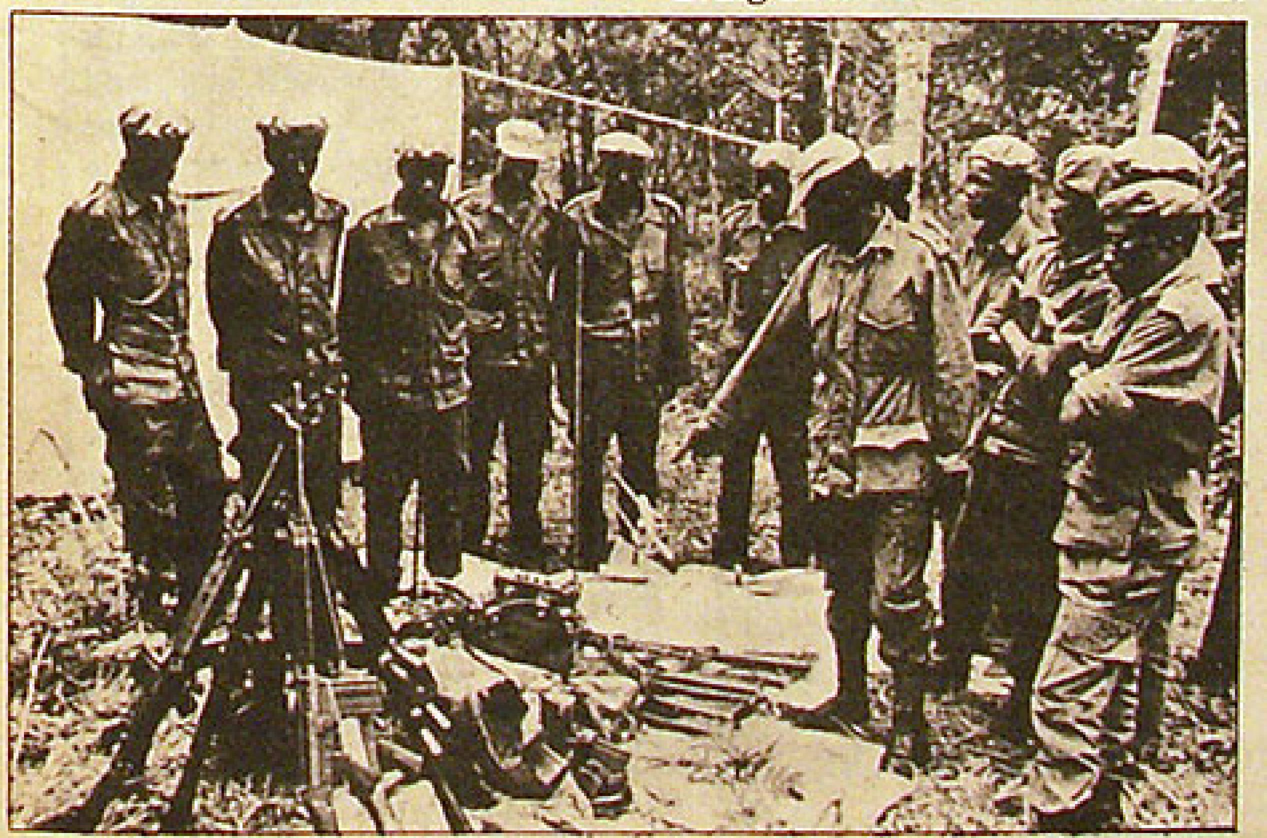
ZIPA, the military wing of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), along with the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), comprises the Patriotic Front.

In other ZANU news, Robert Mugabe, secretary-general of ZANU, delivered a forceful New Year's message in which he called on the Zimbabwean people to make 1978 "the people's year," the year "we rid our home of this settler vermin."

The following is the text of Mugabe's stirring message, delivered on Mozambican Radio:

"Now that we have encompassed the whole country with our operations, the basic power to our revolutionary struggle must be vigorously and systematically cultivated. The basic power to any revolutionary armed struggle is the people. A struggle which enjoys the full support of the struggling masses can never fail,

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ZIPA guerrillas with weapons captured from Rhodesian forces.

Spirit Of Paul Robeson

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might have to pay. He didn't expect to be around in the fifties. He was prepared for someone to blow him away. That his career was affected seemed mild compared to that.

"As for being disillusioned," he adds, "look at my father's later statements. They're right here in the Archives. My God, look at the words he sent to the 1973 salute:

" 'I am the same Paul...I must keep fighting until I'm dying.' " (The last words are from "Ol' Man River," the song Robeson transformed into a worldwide battle cry against oppression.)

The Archives consists of some 50,000 items: letters, speeches, press statements, articles, records, tapes, sheet music, scripts, posters, programs, awards, photographs, Robeson's own personal library, African artifacts, and a few costumes. At least 90 per cent of it was owned by the Robeson family, the rest was acquired — and is still being acquired — from England, the Soviet Union and elsewhere.

"One of the reasons the Archives are so fascinating," Paul Robeson, Jr., said, "is that they show what a complex, multidimensional man my father was. There were so many Robesons."

There was, to begin with, Paul Robeson the son. A picture in the Archives shows the Reverend William Drew Robeson as a powerful, proud-looking Black man with a hint of stubbornness about the jaw. He had escaped from slavery at the age of 15 and throughout his life remained a man of solid principle.

There was Paul Robeson, the actor. The Archives contain scores of photographs of Robeson as Othello, in addition to a pertinent 1930 interview in which he explained his interpretation of the role. "I feel the play is so modern," he said, "for the problem is the problem of my own people. It is a tragedy of racial conflict, a tragedy of honor, rather than of jealousy."

There was Paul Robeson, the singer. Housed in the archives is the original score of the 11-minute choral work, "Ballad for Americans," which electrified the country when Robeson first sang it over CBS radio in 1939.

There was Paul Robeson, the prophet. He foreshadowed the interests of Black Americans in exploring their links with Africa.

He anticipated the concept of Black Power. In his book, *Here I Stand*, he wrote:

"The Negro people's movement must be led by Negroes, not only in terms of title and position but in reality. Good advice is good no matter what the source and help is needed and appreciated from wherever it comes, but Negro action cannot be decisive if the advisers and helpers hold the guiding reins."



PAUL ROBESON

There was, of course, Paul Robeson, the freedom fighter. The transcript of his testimony in 1956 before the House Un-American Activities Committee is in the Archives. "Why didn't you stay in Russia?" demanded one member of this inquisition. Robeson retorted:

"Because my father was a slave, and my people died to build this country, and I am going to stay here and have a part of it just like you. And no fascist-minded people will drive me from it. Is that clear?"□

World Scope

Canada

(New Westminster, Canada) - Five prisoners released two of 12 remaining hostages seized during an alleged attempted jailbreak here last week. The British Columbia Penitentiary inmates have demanded a lawyer and medical help for a prisoner suffering from a gunshot wound. The released hostages were exchanged for a newspaper, food, and five doses of the pain-killer Demerol.

Western Europe

(London, England) - Unemployment among the young in Western Europe continues to sky rocket. The proportion of unemployed workers under 25 in Britain is 28 per cent; in Italy, 60 per cent; in West Germany, 20 per cent; and in France, 25 per cent.

Tunisia

(Tunis, Tunisia) - The Tunisian government invoked a dusk-to-dawn curfew and declared a state of emergency last week after a general strike which erupted into massive anti-government demonstrations was brutally put down by soldiers and police. At least one protester was killed and others were injured.

Kampuchea

(Phnom Penh, Kampuchea) - Phnom Penh resembles a "ghost city" with useless currency notes strewn in the streets, according to Scandinavian diplomats who returned last week from the Kampuchea (Cambodian) capital. The Swedish, Finnish and Danish ambassadors said there were no signs of the Vietnam/Kampuchea border conflict in Phnom Penh itself. The officials said there were no buses, mail or telegraph services, and only the main streets were open.

Israel

(Washington, D.C.) - As early as 1974 the CIA believed that Israel had produced nuclear weapons. "Our judgment is based on Israeli acquisition of large quantities of uranium, partly by clandestine means," said a secret memorandum released last week by the CIA more than three years after it was written.

"GOOD MORNING REVOLUTION"

The Poetry Of Langston Hughes

Good Morning Revolution

Good morning, Revolution:
You're the very best friend
I ever had.
We gonna pal around together from now on.
Say, listen, Revolution:
You know, the boss where I used to work,
The guy that gimme the air to cut down expenses,
He wrote a long letter to the papers about you:
Said you was a trouble maker, a alien-enemy,
In other words a son-of-a-bitch.
He called up the police
And told 'em to watch out for a guy
Named Revolution.

You see,
The boss knows you're my friend.
He sees us hangin' out together.
He knows we're hungry, and ragged,
And ain't got a damn thing in this world—
And are gonna do something about it.

The boss's got all his needs, certainly,
Eats swell,
Owns a lotta houses,
Goes vacationin',
Breaks strikes,
Runs politics, bribes police,
Pays off congress,
And struts all over the earth

But me, I ain't never had enough to eat.
Me, I ain't never been warm in winter.
Me, I ain't never known security
All my life, been livin' hand to mouth,
Hand to mouth.

Listen, Revolution,
We're buddies, see—
Together,
We can take everything:
Factories, arsenals, houses, ships,
Railroads, forests, fields, orchards,
Bus lines, telegraphs, radios,
(Jesus! Raise hell with radios!)
Steel mills, coal mines, oil wells, gas,
All the tools of production,
(Great day in the morning!)
Everything —
And turn 'em over to the people who work.
Rule and run 'em for us people who work.
Boy! Them radios —
Broadcasting that very first morning to USSR:
Another member the International Soviet's done come
Greetings to the Socialist Soviet Republics
Hey you rising workers everywhere greetings
And we'll sign it: Germany
Sign it: China
Sign it: Africa
Sign it: Poland
Sign it: Italy
Sign it: America
Sign it with my one name: Worker
On that day when no one will be hungry, cold, oppressed,
Anywhere in the world again.
That's our job!
I been starvin' too long,
Ain't you?

Let's go, Revolution!

The Negro Speaks Of Rivers

(To W.E.B. DuBois)

I've known rivers;
I've known rivers ancient as the world and older than the
world and older than the flow of human blood in human veins.

My soul has grown deep like the rivers.

I bathed in the Euphrates when dawns were young.
I built my hut near the Congo and it lulled me to sleep.
I looked upon the Nile and raised the pyramids above it.
I heard the singing of the Mississippi when Abe Lincoln went down to New Orleans, and I've seen its muddy bosom turn all golden in the sunset.

I've known rivers:
Ancient, dusky rivers.

My soul has grown deep like the rivers.

Still Here

I been scarred and battered.
My hopes the wind done scattered.
Snow has friz me,
Sun has baked me,
Looks like between 'em they done
Tried to make me
Stop laughin', stop lovin', stop livin' —
But I don't care!
I'm still here!

Question And Answer

Durban, Birmingham,
Cape Town, Atlanta,
Johannesburg, Watts,
The earth around
Struggling, fighting,
Dying — for what?

A world to gain.

Groping, hoping,
Waiting — for what?

A world to gain.

Dreams kicked asunder,
Why not go under?

There's a world to gain.

But suppose I don't want it,
Why take it?

To remake it.

Peace

We passed their graves;
The dead men there,
Winners or losers,
Did not care.

In the dark
They could not see
Who had gained
The victory.

Who But The Lord?

I looked and I saw
That man they call the Law.
He was coming
Down the street at me!
I had visions in my head
Of being laid out cold and dead,
Or else murdered
By the third degree

I said, O, Lord, if you can,
Save me from that man!
Don't let him make a pulp out of me!
But the Lord he was not quick.
The Law raised up his stick
And beat the living hell
Out of me!

Now I do not understand
Why God don't protect a man
From police brutality.
Being poor and black,
I've no weapon to strike back
So who but the Lord
Can protect me?

We'll see



LANGSTON HUGHES

Esthethe In Harlem

Strange,
That in this nigger place
I should meet life face to face;
When, for years, I had been seeking
Life in places gentler-speaking,
Until I came to this vile street
And found Life stepping on my feet!

Warning

Negroes,
Sweet and docile,
Meek, humble, and kind:
Beware the day
They change their mind!

Wind
In the cotton fields,
Gentle breeze:
Beware the hour
It uproots trees!

A Dream Deferred

What happens to a dream deferred?

Does it dry up
like a raisin in the sun?
Or fester like a sore—
And then run?
Does it stink like rotten meat?
Or crust and sugar over—
like a syrupy sweet?

Maybe it just sags
like a heavy load.

Or does it explode?

Justice

That Justice is a blind goddess
Is a thing to which we black are wise:
Her bandage hides two festering sores
That once perhaps were eyes.

F.B.I.'s Mexican COINTELPRO Plot

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

the Mexican government —and the FBI. A 1968 memo from Hoover reveals the FBI's infiltration of the movement: "With only 10 men in the demonstration that the radicals (students) are going to hold, it is not sufficient to consummate the plans that have been made," *Excelsior* quotes.

The Mexican government moved quickly to crush the growing movement. On October 2, 1968, a peaceful demonstration of thousands of people at the Tlatelolco Plaza in Mexico City was fired on by police and troops. Hundreds of protesters were killed.

The government minister responsible for the massacre, Luis Echeverria, became the president of Mexico in 1970. Echeverria had been a close contact of the CIA, Philip Agee reported in *Inside the Company*. The FBI continued its close collaboration with the Mexican government under the Echeverria administration, the files show.

A 1971 memo from Hoover tells the FBI's agents in Mexico to "make sure that the disruptions will be carried out by our undercover agents in meetings with *subversive students without endangering the life of* [name deleted]," *Excelsior* reported, explaining that this was an "indirect reference" to Echeverria.

Representative Larry McDonald recently launched a campaign aimed at stepping up counterintelligence activities against Mexican activists.

McDonald, a Georgia Democrat and national board member of the John Birch Society, is notorious for introducing long tracts into the *Congressional Record* defending the FBI and other secret police outfits. Much of his "documentation" on alleged "terrorism" clearly comes from FBI files.

In the November 2, 1977, *Record*, in an article titled "Mexican Terrorists Using United States as a Haven," McDonald went into a racist diatribe against "large concerted 'border invasions' by gangs of illegal immigrants." He singled out the political asylum case of Hector Marroquin, now a member of the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S.

In the early 1970's, Marroquin was a student activist in Monterrey, Mexico, one of the cities targeted by the FBI, according to the files.

Other information in the files shows how the FBI harassed people traveling across the U.S.-Mexican border.

FBI agents posed as agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to question people who "could be of interest in relation to national security," *Excelsior* quotes one memo.

Stories were planted by agents in border city newspapers urging citizens to inform on sons and daughters of neighbors who might be "subversives."

When mere harassment was insufficient, the FBI resorted to out-and-out frame-ups. One memo admits that U.S. police planted illegal drugs — heroin, cocaine, and marijuana — in the cars of Chicano leaders.

Mexican government agencies routinely collaborated with and turned over information to the FBI.□



Mexican police guard student activists.

Zimbabwean Students Expelled

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Therefore, on November 4, all the 19 African students in the program (the remaining six students are non-Black) called a press conference where they made a public statement critical of the nature of the program and explained their stand.

"We are very frustrated by this program and we unreservedly refuse to be used as tools for safeguarding diabolical foreign interests in our country. This is neither in our interest nor Zimbabwe's."

CMU's role in relation to wider American policy strategy to influence events in southern Africa was also cited by the eight who referred to a CMU document issued in June, 1977, to help raise funds for the project.

The 10-page document entitled *Rhodesia: Time for Choice and Action*, describes alternative scenarios for a solution to what it calls the "Rhodesian problem" and recommends encouraging "our government to continue to seek ways to aid in a peaceful transition to majority rule for Rhodesia."

It goes on to spell out an "educational" proposal:

"We propose that we begin now to educate and train Black Rhodesians who might eventually become part of a Black majority and its government."

It goes even further to explain that this would imply no changes in the capitalist, Western-linked economic system.□

Patriotic Front Rejects Plan

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civil service would be maintained.

In addition, 28 of the 100 seats in the Rhodesian Parliament would be reserved for Whites whose total population in the country numbers only 270,000. There are some 6.7 million Black people in the breakaway British colony.

Smith wants the interim government to function for two years but Muzorewa, Sithole and Chirau favor a shorter period. The three men also want Black majority rule to begin by September of this year, but it is unlikely that the mechanics of the agreement can be implemented by then.

In other developments in Rhodesia last week, the government extended its new censorship regulations to cover all the security-related facts, views and comments in domestic and foreign reports on the armed struggle.

LEGAL SOURCES

Legal sources said the additional regulations mean that any article that mentions the war would be subject to censorship.

Previously, only news reports dealing with military matters could be censored. Foreign correspondents estimate that about 90 per cent of their reports will now have to undergo censorship.□

INSIDE LATIN AMERICA

Nicaragua

(Managua, Nicaragua) - President Anastasio Somoza invoked a "state of emergency" last week in an attempt to stifle a crippling, six-day nationwide strike which threatens to topple his fascist regime.

Leaders of the strike, called to protest the assassination of anti-Somoza editor Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, have demanded the dictator's immediate resignation.

On January 28, the day emergency rule was enacted, National Guard troops in riot gear broke up two rallies by strikers. Troops fired shots into the air and used tear gas to disperse the demonstrators. Soldiers in jeeps and trucks patrolled the streets.

The government also issued an order prohibiting all radio and television stations from referring to the strike in newscasts.

Under the state of emergency, all citizens and businesses are "obligated to cooperate" with the government. Somoza has threatened to confiscate the assets of businesses that do not reopen. The strike has shut down over 90 per cent of the businesses in this capital city, and has had a similar effect throughout the country.

In desperation, Somoza also established a committee to buy basic commodities and supplies at wholesale prices to sell to the public.

Opposition leaders called the strike to protest the government's investigation into the ambush slaying of Chamorro, the editor of *La Prensa*, on January 10. Since then, Silvio Pena Rivas, one of five persons accused in the assassination, testified in court that prominent political figures of Somoza's government had financed the murder, including House Speaker Cornelio Hueck and former state Housing Bank President Fausto Zelaya, who now lives in Los Angeles.

The Democratic Liberation Union, an anti-Somoza political coalition founded by Chamorro, and business leaders called for Somoza's resignation on the fourth day of the strike.

The demand was supported by the moderate Conservative Party, several outlawed left-wing political parties and the country's major labor groups.

Who Killed Malcolm X?

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

that are bigger than what they can do," Malcolm said. "I know what they can do. Things have gone beyond that."

As Malcolm stood behind the rostrum, preparing to begin his talk, a scuffle broke out toward the back of the hall. Then there was a muffled explosion at the rear of the hall and smoke from an incendiary device rose into the air.

A man in one of the front rows held up a sawed-off shotgun and fired into Malcolm's chest. As Malcolm keeled over, two or three men were seen standing in the front row, "like a firing squad," pumping bullets into him. After he had fallen the gunmen emptied their revolvers into the inert body.

There was chaos in the ballroom. Two men were saved from the mob by policemen who had not been in the ballroom during the shooting.

THIN-LIPPED KILLER

The first was "a thin-lipped, olive-skinned, Latin-looking man" whom eyewitnesses said was overcome by pursuers in the hall after he had emptied a gun into Malcolm's body. He was rescued from his pursuers by Patrolman Thomas Hoy.

The suspect arrested by Patrolman Hoy never was identified, never appeared in court, and was never seen or heard about again.

In the aftermath of the assassination the press gave much coverage to the feud between Malcolm X and his former spiritual leader, the honorable Elijah Muhammad.

Despite heavy police protection, an arsonist was able to climb onto the roof of Muhammad's Harlem Mosque less than two days after the murder and use gasoline to set fire to the building.

With few exceptions, the newspaper slant given to the story was between two irrational fringe groups composed of dangerous ex-convicts. Because the feud between Malcolm's fledgling Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) and the Nation of Islam was accepted public knowledge, and because the titillating concept of a conflict that was part-holy war and part-gang war could sell papers, it was seductively easy for the press and the public both to accept the assumption that the Black Muslims, alone, killed Malcolm X.

In his epilogue to *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, Alex Haley reports that on Tuesday, February 16, 1965 — five days before the fatal meeting at the Audubon Ballroom — Malcolm told a close associate, "I have been marked for death in the next five days. I have the names of five Black Muslims who have been chosen to kill me. I will announce them at the meeting."

There was ample reason for Malcolm to think that he was marked for death, and to believe that the killers would be acting as agents of the then-Nation of Islam.

But to understand the main thrust of the motions for a retrial that William Kunstler will be arguing in the courts, it is first necessary to understand why Malcolm intended to tell his audience in the Audubon Ballroom that he "had been hasty to accuse the Black Muslims," and why he said "things have happened since that are bigger than what they can do."

On March 13, 1965, in a speech to the Boston Militant Labor Forum, Leon Ameer, Malcolm's New England representative, said, "I have facts in my possession as to who really killed Malcolm." Ameer said he would call a press conference shortly to reveal evidence in documents and tape recordings which Malcolm had transmitted to him before the murder, evidence to why Malcolm had been the victim of the "power structure."

"The killers aren't from Chicago," Ameer declared, alluding to Elijah Muhammad's headquarters in that city. "They're from Washington."

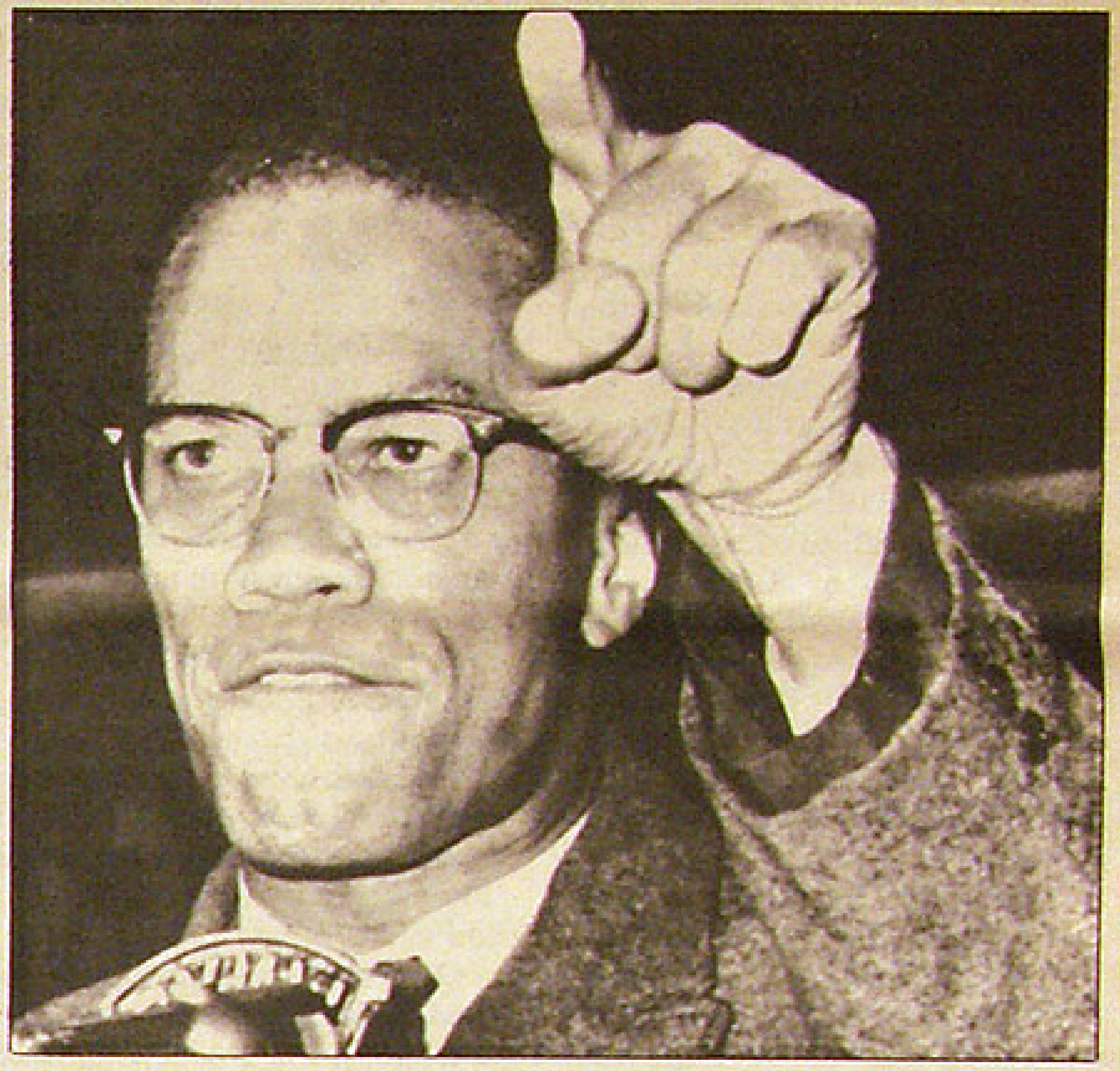
Prophetically, Ameer told his Boston audience: "I know my life is worth nothing." The morning after his speech, Ameer was found dead in his room at the Sherry Biltmore Hotel.

Kunstler was brought into the case last winter and convinced to move for a retrial by Thomas Hagan.

Several days after the killing the New York police found themselves in an uncomfortable position. Newspaper reports spoke of four accomplices who were still at large. Eyewitness accounts had reported four or five gunmen firing at Malcolm.

Since the police had allowed the "thin-lipped, olive-skinned, Latin-looking" suspect apprehended by Patrolman Hoy to vanish, they were holding only one suspect for a crime committed by four or five men.

The position of the police became less uncomfortable 10 days later when, after what was termed an "intensive investigation," they arrested two so-called "enforcers" associated with Muslim Mosque #7 in Harlem, Thomas (15X) Johnson and Norman (3X) Butler.



MALCOLM X

Although there was no evidence connecting Hagan to Johnson and Butler, and although no material evidence existed to place Johnson and Butler at the Audubon Ballroom, the D.A. indicted all three men together for having carried out a criminal conspiracy to murder Malcolm X.

The *New York Times* of March 1, 1965, reported that Hagan "said he had three accomplices, but he declined to name them."

But now, a dozen years later, Hagan has offered to give those names in court and to tell everything he knows about the assassination.

Besides Hagan's affidavit, the second example of crucial new evidence in the case is a transcript from another trial, which Kunstler has submitted to the court. In 1971, 21 former members of the New York Chapter of the Black Panther Party were tried in New York on various conspiracy charges. A key witness against the defendants in that trial was a police undercover agent called Gene Roberts, who had infiltrated the BPP in New York. The defense had been tipped off that Gene Roberts had been a member of Malcolm's Organization of Afro-American Unity. Defense attorney Gerald Lefcourt asked Roberts about his connection to Malcolm and, as Kunstler says, "The judge let him go a little ways with it."

Kunstler relates that under cross-examination Gene Roberts "admitted that he had been the mysterious 'Brother Jean' on the stage of the Audubon Ballroom who was one of Malcolm's security guards, and who attempted to give Malcolm mouth-to-mouth resuscitation after he was shot, and that he had never been called at the murder trial, even though he had a very powerful story to tell.

According to Kunstler, the Roberts' transcript is a crucial ground for retrial because "Roberts' testimony at the trial would have very much buttressed the defense contention that the police set the thing up — first of all by withdrawing all security from the ballroom. You know, there were only two cops and they were next to the door, in the Rose Room. And they were told not to come out."

TRIAL

In one session of the conspiracy trial of Hagan, Johnson and Butler an extraordinary procedure was invoked: the courtroom was cleared of spectators so that the jury could listen to the testimony of two witnesses in secret. The press learned only that the two witnesses were called Timberlake and Sullivan.

Kunstler, who was not himself involved in the trial, explained their secret testimony saying, "We also have the fine hand of the FBI deeply involved. The weapons were taken to the FBI by someone we think was an FBI informant at the rally by the name of Timberlake."

Timberlake gave his testimony in secret, Kunstler said, because "he was afraid of retaliation." Kunstler also disclosed that "it was to his [Timberlake's] apartment that the FBI came to get the guns." The FBI agent who came to Timberlake's house to pick up the guns — or gun — was the witness, Sullivan, who testified to to that effect in secret. ☐

Amilcar Cabral

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

PAIGC's most important operational rearguard. Sekou Toure's fall would be a very severe blow to the armed resistance struggle in Guinea-Bissau. In sum, Portugal wanted its slice of the cake.

Just so there would be no mistake, the boats that disembarked in Conakry first bombed the PAIGC general headquarters. But Amilcar Cabral was in Sofia. The failure of the operation was to have serious consequences for the Portuguese intelligence network: Conakry broke diplomatic relations with the FRG and made a major purge that crippled Lisbon's regular and voluntary agents.

In spite of the failure, Lopes Ramos continued to live in Bonn. Why? The "contacts" with Guinea were not completely broken, at least as far as espionage was concerned. Relief was assured by an official of the military section of Rome's embassy in Conakry. Further, in the negotiations with PAIGC, the personal representative of General Spinola was that same Major Almeida Bruno who, with Barbieri Cardoso and the Guinean citizens, completed the plan for invading Conakry.

1972 — This was the year in which it was decided to kidnap Amilcar Cabral and Aristides



AMILCAR CABRAL (center), with PAIGC militants in liberated zone within Guinea-Bissau.

Pereira, then associate Secretary General of PAIGC and Cabral's alter ego.

Why kidnap and not assassination? Barbieri Cardoso wanted to repeat the "Delgado strike" but this time successfully. We will proceed in order.

The gist of the reports received from Conakry, as well as verification of certain information from Senegal and other African countries such as Ethiopia, made the PIDE-DGS "believe" that Cabral's movement was "deeply divided," that an internal struggle was developing between Cape Verdeans and Guineans from the continent.

So, assuming that by withdrawing Cabral and Pereira from circulation it would be possible to exploit "insoluble contradictions" within PAIGC, there was just one more step and the PIDE-DGS did not hesitate to take it. The strike on Conakry must appear — old refrain — as a "settling of accounts" between the different currents of the liberation movement.

Moreover, putting Cabral and Pereira out of the way, putting them in jail, would have been an unprecedented achievement that could have provided the Portuguese army with a long rest period. The "credit" for the operation would be given in large part to General Spinola, military governor of the small colony, who, although the regime's propaganda made him smell as sweet as a rose, was approaching the day when he would return to Lisbon without having been able to contain the guerrilla thrust.

TO BE CONTINUED

Z.I.P.A. Destroys Key Rhodesian Base

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no matter how protracted it may be. Let us, therefore, in every sense of the phrase, make 1978 the people's year, the year the broad oppressed masses have been totally and effectively mobilized in every village, district, province, city, town, mine or farm into supporting the war as their war. The people are the surest instrument for achieving true victory over the enemy.

FISH IN WATER

"As we move among them, like fish in water, let us constantly bear in mind that this massive water maintains its smooth kindness to the fish in feeding, hiding and in a meek and gentle manner facilitating them, but often using swift tactical movements.

"We must also constantly remember that this massive water can be made to rise in furious floods, capable of engulfing and drowning the enemy, marooning, isolating and cutting him off. The people, the power of the people, is irresistible. It is our surest weapon. The organization of the masses must conform to party directives. The party line is the only correct line for the mobilization and organization of the masses. The people must start to rally behind the party and the armed struggle.



ROBERT MUGABE (center), co-leader of the Zimbabwean Patriotic Front.

"1978 must equally be the year in which our party, at the vanguard of the armed struggle, can also grow firm and deep roots everywhere in the country. Again, the strength and viability of any Party derives from the people. The roots of our party are in our people. These roots must spread deep, wide and solid in 1978.

"The party and the people, and the people and the party, must have one and the same meaning. Organize the party in the name of the people and the people in the name of the party.

"Make 1978, therefore, the year of the party and the people so that we can also fully transform our struggle in both theory and practice into the people's struggle.

GUIDING FORCES

"Our revolutionary guiding forces must always make a judicious and most economic use of our firepower so that maximum results are achieved by minimum resources. For the loss of one weapon let us seize two, better still four, of the enemy's weapons. Our principle of self-reliance must accordingly be fully involved so that we can use the enemy's resources in destroying him.

"Let us hammer him to defeat. Let us blow up his citadel. Let us give him no time to rest. Let us chase him in every corner, and thus rid our home of this settler vermin."☐

South African Economy Faltering

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

level talks on the possibility of setting up a national riot or urban terrorism fund," *The Star* reported in late November. "Insurance spokesmen said the potential for loss by companies was 'astronomical' and for this reason firms were unwilling to offer riot coverage." Another executive said bluntly: "We don't see ourselves offering urban terrorism cover."

Insurance may be one of the lesser worries besetting the South African economy. But it is symptomatic. So was a 50-page supplement put out by the *Financial Mail*, South Africa's equivalent of the *Wall Street Journal*, on November 10 — its cover featuring the word SECURITY in two-inch high red letters, right below the fangs of a snarling attack dog.

BLACK RESISTANCE

Growing Black resistance to apartheid is reflected in the statistics about rising inflation — 11 per cent for 1977 — and sinking profits.

It shows also in the unsettled mood of major sectors of South African industry and consumers. For instance, one newspaper headlined "Swingabout in Migration Hits House Building." With Whites no longer flocking to the country at a rate of 30,000 a year, the article explains, experts now calculate a net loss of 2,000 White citizens for 1977 and "a deep slide in demand for new homes for White families" in 1978.

The impact of political resistance shows even more in the increasing pressure from abroad, as the United Nations seriously contemplates an oil embargo and major corporations talk about cutting bait.

South African officials, in response, boast bravely about stockpiles of oil and the wonders of coal gasification. But independent researcher Bernard Rivers sounds considerably more convincing when he estimates that no more than six to nine months' supply of oil has been stored.

According to a major study by the U.S. Congressional Research Service released in December, 1977, U.S. corporations which formerly plowed 60 per cent of their South African earnings back into increased investments in apartheid are now shipping 65 per cent of their profits home.

The study predicts that power and transport will be the first sectors of the South African economy to falter because of a shortage of foreign capital.☐

Farm Workers End Boycott

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

of 1970, the UFW launched a secondary boycott against Safeway Stores.

During this period, Coachella Valley growers were forced to sign contracts with the UFW.

At the end of July, 30 of the Delano growers were forced to do likewise.

"SWEETHEART" PACTS

Soon the Teamsters had signed "sweetheart" pacts with a number of Salinas area lettuce growers. Workers did not want the Teamsters and went on strike, but court injunctions limited the extent of picketing.

The UFW violated the injunctions and Chavez and others were jailed. A boycott of iceberg lettuce was begun.

That was the focus of the struggle until the spring of 1973 when farm owners in Coachella and Delano who had UFW contracts decided not to renew and instead signed with the Teamsters.

At about the same time, Gallo, the nation's largest wine company, also decided not to renew its UFW contract. A nationwide boycott of all Gallo wines was launched.

In May, 1975, the Legislature passed the ALRA.

The UFW won about 60 per cent of the first round of elections in September, 1975.☐



SOUTH AFRICA: The Full Facts

The public is invited to attend an informative eight-week series of seminars focusing on the continuing revolutionary struggle in South Africa. A display of writings by Steve Biko, films, slides, poetry reading and other activities are planned for eight consecutive Wednesdays, beginning on January 25.

Time: 7:00 p.m.

Place: Dwinelle Hall, Room 88, University of California, Berkeley

Sponsored by Karabo

For Further Information, Call: (415) 848-3810

Letters to the Editor

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

LYNCH MOB JUSTICE

Dear Editor,

After 5-and-one-half years in prison and nearly 8 months on parole, I have, as of December 11, 1977 (this past Sunday), terminated my total sentences by "lynch mob" criminal justice procedures. In December of last year (one year ago) I applied, under the Freedom of Information Act, for all such information available as applies to me in the files of the CIA, FBI, and other secret agencies known to have been active in the search and research of my activities.

Thirteen months after my original application for such information, I have, this month, been privileged to receive a report from the CIA. But, as of this date, nothing from the FBI, except, indirectly, such slanderous information as they so tacitly supplied to the CIA.

On December 17, at about 12:05 a.m. I called the FBI, seeking to avoid the clutter and congestion of previously experienced subterfuge, to inquire as to why their Miami office persists in resisting the legally required relinquishment of such material as they have accumulated and contrived whereby to cause my imprisonment in the federal and state prisons for these past six years.

I personally charged agents Peterson and Jellison, against whom I have corroborated substantiation, with the conspiracy which caused me six years of un-Constitutional, unjust and, perhaps, even criminal incarceration.

The agent who answered the phone, obviously tender in years and defensive to the extreme as to his agency, hung up on me two times rather than deal rationally with my insistent request for an answer as to why the local office's resistance to the release of all such information required under the Privacy Act of 1974, 5 U.S.C. 552a et seq. Specifically, I claim the right to access of the alleged "written" reports of one Kermit Roberts, FBI informant, a proven illiterate, which were so deviously insinuated into the federal trial which resulted in my being sentenced to four years' imprisonment for a crime which I certainly never committed.

Additionally, as a consequence of the insubordination of the federal criminal justice system by said agents et. al., I subsequently suffered two Florida state "lynchings" for which I was sentenced to concurrent six-year sentences.

On Sunday, December 11, 1977, I completed those six infamous years and, now, seek to clear my name if not secure just retribution for but another of the myriad instances of blatant racist bigotry all too common to the American system of jurisprudence.

Al Featherston,
Center For Dialog
Miami, Florida

THE BLACK PANTHER Photography Department

Needs Photo Equipment Donated

1. **Motor drive and accessories for an OM-1 Olympus Camera.**
2. **35mm cameras [Nikons preferred]**
3. **Large strobe flash unit with rechargeable batteries.**
4. **Nikon lenses from 50mm to 200mm or higher.**
5. **Photo safe lights**
6. **Film dryer and photo trays 8x10 to 16x20**
7. **11x14 and 16x20 easels**
8. **Photo dryer for 8x10 to 16x20 photos**
9. **Flood lights on tri-pods**

ALL OTHER PHOTOGRAPHY EQUIPMENT WELCOME

We are embarking on a new year and to help us continue our news coverage in an even more efficient way we are asking our friends to assist us by donating materials and equipment to our Photography Department. We need your help. If a picture is truly worth a thousand words, help us deliver the message.

CONTACT:
EMORY DOUGLAS OR DONALD CUNNINGHAM
8501 E. 14TH. STREET / OAKLAND, CA. / (415) 638-0195.

New Haven

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

whose name, like others in the heavily-censored documents, was blacked out — and also accused him of the misuse of funds.

Although no factual information could be found to back up either allegation, the letter was justified by the FBI because of the leader's influence and the need to take "every effort. . .to undermine confidence" in him.

FEDERAL SCRUTINY

Other groups which came under federal police scrutiny included: the Connecticut Communist Party, USA Branch; the Connecticut Nation of Islam, which had, according to FBI figures, 150 members in Hartford, 65 in New Haven, 50 in Bridgeport, and 15 in Waterbury; the Hill Parents Association of New Haven, a resident action group; the Hartford Black Caucus; and the New Haven Black Coalition.

In the FBI files concerning New Left student groups, the documents show the New Haven office developed contingency plans to "capitalize" on any rift between the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the BPP.☐

Repressive Code

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S.1437, "the Criminal Code Reform Act of 1977," which carries insidious implications for the future in the areas of civil liberties, law and order, criminal justice and Constitutional freedoms, passed the Senate Judiciary Committee by a 12 to 2 vote last November 2. This is much farther than S.1 had progressed.

Under S.1437, for example, it would be illegal to demonstrate within 200 feet of any building used by a judicial official; the Constitutional right to remain silent before a grand jury is denied; boycotts and labor strikes would be severely limited since "threatening economic loss or injury to business" would be a federal crime.

One of the last actions the Senate took on S.1437 was to accept an amendment by Sen. James Allen of Alabama to retain a 1799 law known as the Logan Act which prohibits private citizens from communicating with foreign governments. This law was used to prevent peace movement activists in the late 1960's from attempting to talk with the North Vietnamese.

California Senator S.I. Hayakawa voted in favor of S.1437, while Senator Alan Cranston opposed it.☐

"Accelerate Pace" To Achieve Equality

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11
southern Africa, and the Congress must pass additional legislation providing diplomatic and economic sanctions against South Africa.

Status: While an important bill — banning Rhodesian chrome imports — and an important Resolution — condemning South Africa for its repressive actions and calling for effective actions against that country — were passed by the House, legislation providing specific economic and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa has not been passed. Also, few of the twelve points for actions recommended by the CBC have been implemented by the administration.

URBAN POLICY

Goal: There must be a firm commitment to coordinated programs with adequate funds to make an advance against the physical and social ills of the cities and against similar conditions in non-urban areas. These policies must be under the overall umbrella of a full employment policy. The urban policy must address housing revitalization, improvement of other physical conditions and provide a broad-based attack on other aspects of urban ills such as crime, educational shortcomings, public assistance needs and others. There must be a clear commitment to provide the aid to persons with the greatest need, while recognizing the general fiscal needs of the cities.

Status: An administration task force is presently revising a policy for Presidential approval, following widespread criticism of an initial draft. The President has stated an unwillingness to provide major new funds for old programs, but left open the possibility of additional funding for new programs. The final plan is expected in March.

EDUCATION

Goal: To greatly improve public school education, provide equality of educational opportunity, and in higher education to provide greater resources to predominantly Black colleges and universities, increase the number of predominantly Black medical schools, and provide greater access of minority students to other universities and colleges in undergraduate, graduate and professional school studies.

Status: The major legislative issue in 1978 will be renewal and revision of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The Congressional Black Caucus supports H.R.9968, a major bill which retains the present Title I focus on educationally and economically deprived children. This bill includes revisions which would ensure assistance to the students most in need, strengthens parent involvement and auditing procedures and provides for summer programs and a program for gifted and talented children. In addition, H.R. 250 would ensure that lower-income children participating under the Title I program remain eligible for assistance through grade 3, notwithstanding improvements in their reading aptitude, to ensure that gains made by young children are not quickly lost.


The physical and social ills of urban America must be eliminated.

WELFARE REFORM

Goal: To bring about a major reform of the welfare assistance system which provides decent jobs to those able and seeking to work, adequate cash assistance to those in need, elimination of oppressive requirements to obtain assistance, provision of adequate social services and humanization of the welfare system in general.

Status: The House Welfare Subcommittee has completed a major portion of the mark-up on the welfare bill submitted by the administration. Congressional Black Caucus testimony raised major concerns about the administration bill. The picture for welfare reform this year is not clear, with talk of alternative legislation from the House and the possibility that only minor changes in the law will result from the process.

HEALTH

Goal: To provide adequate health care protection for every person in the country both prior to and during illness. Legislation to provide a National Health Service Act, or in the alternative, a system of National Health Insurance operated by the federal government, should be passed to implement the protection.

SEVERAL BILLS

Status: A bill to create a National Health Service System and several bills to provide a system of national health insurance have been introduced in Congress. The administration is expected to introduce its national health insurance bill toward the end of 1978.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Goal: To simplify voter registration procedures and to encourage political participation by all persons, particularly by minorities, who continue to vote less frequently than others.

Status: Legislation to eliminate the requirement for voter registration prior to election day was not considered by Congress last year due to heavy political opposition. Bills to simplify voter registration by permitting persons to register by mail are still pending. Legislative action and enforcement actions, such as for the Voting Rights Act of 1965, remain necessary to ensure full political participation by all persons. □

Ken Cockrel Elected To Detroit City Council

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11
benefit the community. In particular, I have my own view of the narcotics problem and feel that a mobilization can be developed around that."

Cockrel has been a public figure in Detroit ever since he helped organize various plant-based left groups into the League of Revolutionary Black Workers following the city's 1967 Black rebellion. He has become well known through a series of intensely political trials.

In the "New Bethel" case of 1969, Cockrel won acquittal for members of the Republic of New Africa who had been involved in a fatal shootout with Detroit police.

He then challenged the jury selection process and proved systematic discrimination against Blacks, women, youth and working people generally. Thereafter, juries in Recorder's Court have more accurately reflected the city's population.

Two years later, the long battle against the Detroit police STRESS unit was dramatically focused by the trial of Hayward Brown.

The elite police unit had killed nearly a score of Detroiters, all but one Black. There was general suspicion that they were also giving protection to heroin dealers.

Brown and two friends who had been waging their own private war against dope were involved in a shootout with STRESS officers in which four police were wounded.

They became fugitives in the largest manhunt in Detroit history. Black homes were terrorized by police raids. Brown was eventually captured; his friends were killed by police in Atlanta.

Cockrel again took the offensive, putting the police and STRESS on trial, and instructing both jury and city on the history of police violence in Detroit. Brown was acquitted.

The most recent publicized Cockrel defense was top-of-the-hour news in Detroit. A Black policewoman in Flint, Michigan, Madelyn Fletcher, was forced to armed defense by the threats of White male officers. A shooting incident left her and an antagonist wounded.


KEN COCKREL

Cockrel exposed the racist and sexist history of the Flint police department and the specific abuse of Fletcher. The prosecution collapsed. □

A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

"All these programs satisfy the deep needs of the community but they are not solutions to our problems. That is why we call them survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution." — Huey P. Newton



LEWIS T.G. RUBMAN, MONTY E. BELL, WALTER W. SIMPSON, JR., and MARY JONES.

GEORGE JACKSON MEDICAL CLINIC

Provides free medical treatment and preventative medical care for the people.

THE SICKLE CELL ANEMIA RESEARCH FOUNDATION

Established to test and create a cure for Sickle Cell Anemia. The foundation informs people about Sickle Cell Anemia and maintains an advisory committee of doctors researching this crippling disease.

PEOPLE'S FREE DENTAL PROGRAM

(Being implemented)
Provides free dental check-ups, treatment and an educational program for dental hygiene.

PEOPLE'S FREE OPTOMETRY PROGRAM

(Being implemented)
Provides free eye examinations, treatment and eyeglasses for the people.

PEOPLE'S FREE AMBULANCE PROGRAM

Provides free, rapid transportation for sick or injured people without time-consuming checks into the patients' financial status or means.

FREE FOOD PROGRAM

Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

Provides children with a free, nourishing, hot breakfast every school morning.

FOOD COOPERATIVE PROGRAM

Provides food for the people through community participation and community cooperative buying.

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

Provides news and information about the world and Black and oppressed communities.

PEOPLE'S FREE COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

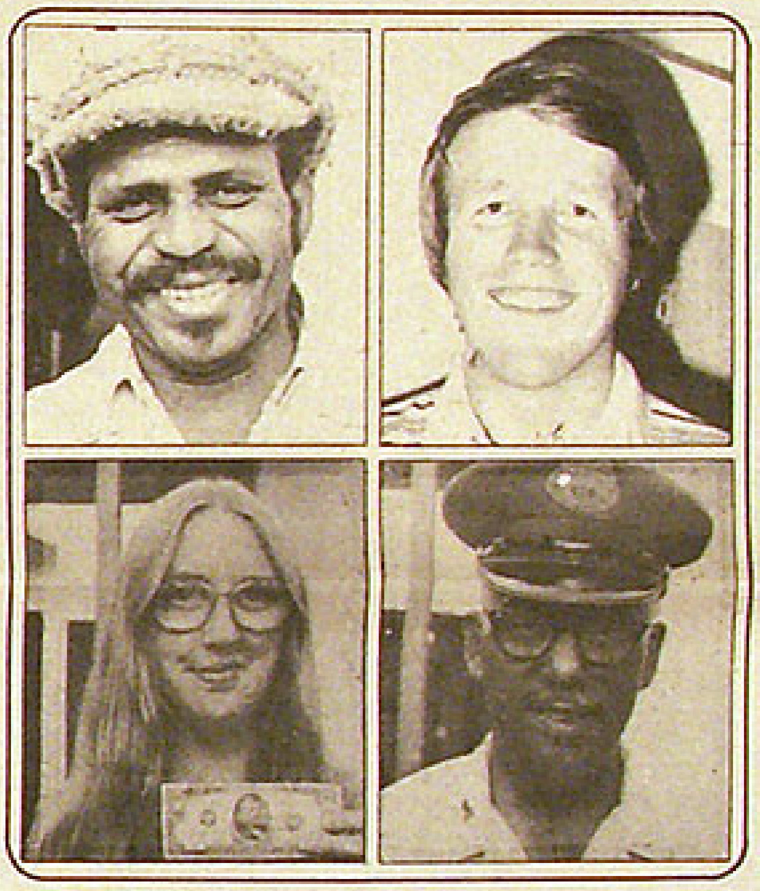
Provides free job-finding services to poor and oppressed people.

SHOE PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)
Provides free shoes, made at the People's Free Shoe Factory, to the people.

PEOPLE'S FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM

Provides new, stylish and quality clothing free to the people.



Oakland Community School Donation Drawing Winners (clockwise) THEARTH JACOBS, DAVE VESKE, ROXANNE McDONALD, and AL MONROE.

PEOPLE'S FREE LEGAL AID AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Provides legal aid classes and full legal assistance to people who are in need.

FREE BUSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM

Provides free transportation to prisons for families and friends of prisoners.

FREE COMMISSARY FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM

Provides imprisoned men and women with funds to purchase necessary commissary items.

SENIORS AGAINST A FEARFUL ENVIRONMENT (S.A.F.E.) PROGRAM

Provides free transportation and escort service for senior citizens to and from community banks on the first of each month.

PEOPLE'S COOPERATIVE HOUSING PROGRAM

Provides, with federal government aid, decent, low-cost and high-quality housing for Black and poor communities.

PEOPLE'S FREE PLUMBING AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAM

Provides free plumbing and repair services to improve people's homes.

FREE PEST CONTROL

Free household extermination of rats, roaches and other disease-carrying pests and rodents.

OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL

Provides Black and other oppressed children with a scientific method of thinking about and analyzing things. This method develops basic skills for living in this society.

LIBERATION SCHOOLS: FREE MUSIC AND DANCE PROGRAMS

Provides children free supplementary educational facilities and materials to promote a correct view of their role in the society and provides support for the Music and Dance programs of the Oakland Community School.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER

Provides 24-hour child care facilities for infants and children between the ages of 2 months and three years. Youth are engaged in a scientific program to develop their physical and mental facilities at the earliest ages.



BOB BENNETT, JAN LECKLEKLER, MARTHA SHELTON, and E. CLAY.

BP-NS photo



SOJOURNER TRUTH



HARRIET TUBMAN

"AND AIN'T I A WOMAN?"

"That man over there say that a woman needs to be helped into carriages, and lifted over ditches, and to have the best place everywhere. Nobody ever helped me into carriages, or over mud puddles, or gives me a best place... And ain't I a woman? Look at me. Look at my arm! I have plowed and planted and gathered into barns, and no man could head me... And ain't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man when I could get it, and bear the lash as well... And ain't I a woman? I have borned thirteen children and seen them most all sold off into slavery. And when I cried out with a mother's grief, none but Jesus heard... And ain't I a woman?"

Sojourner Truth: Speech before the Woman's Rights Convention at Akron, Ohio in 1851.